Raja Todar Mal

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FOREWORD

Notwithstanding the growing emphasis on social and cultural aspects of Indian history in recent research methodology, the study of political history and historical biography of key personalities who contributed to the making of that history is found to be interesting, instructive and impressive. For such a study reflects the working of the historical spirit in the widest sense possible. The evolution of society and culture cannot be entirely dissociated from or properly understood without a clear grasp of the contributions made by such personalities. We have full monographs or detailed studies regarding the career and achievements of the majority of the famous rulers in medieval India,—certainly more of the Mughal Emperors than of the Sultans of Delhi or of the rulers of the various dynasties of the north and south of India. Down the scale studies have also been made of a few ministers or generals both in Northern and Southern India, viz., Munim Khan, Raja Man Singh, Mahmud Gawan, Malik Ambar, Mir Jumla and a few others. Nevertheless it must be admitted that the days of political history or historical biography are not yet over. There is ample scope of research not only with regard to the life and work of individual rulers but also of ministers and generals during the medieval period.

Raja Todar Mal is well known as one of the most brilliant jewels of the court of that most brilliant 'Great Mogul', Akbar. And yet no serious research scholar before Dr. Kumud Ranjan Das was attracted so far to a critical study of his personality. By patient and deep research extending over ten years, he collected materials from the British Museum, National Library, The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, Oriental Public Library, Patna, K. P. Jayswal Research Institute, Patna, Sanskrit University Library, Benares,

Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, Bihar State Archives, Rajasthan State Archives, and Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner, and then wove his narrative after an exhaustive and critical synthesis of all available contemporary sources,—Persian, Sanskrit (including the *Todaranand*a), Urdu, Hindi, Bengali, besides archaeological sources (buildings, coins and inscriptions) and accounts of foreign travellers as well as near contemporary and later works. He has been able to produce a work that is not only valuable but has an abiding interest. One of his external examiners, the late Dr. C. C. Davies (of Oxford) rated the standard of this work to be as high as that of the U. K., Europe, and the U. S. A., while another external examiner Dr. B. P. Saksena (of Allahabad) held it to be worthy of the award of the degree of D. Litt. In my own opinion it is not likely to be superseded in near future unless wholly new sources are unearthed.

The author has thrown much new light and at places given wholly original information on the Raja's early life, ancestry, place of birth and equated him with Todar Khatri of Sher Shah's time. He has not only analysed the contradictions of Abul Fazl skilfully but also differed from and corrected the accounts of Dr. V. A. Smith and Dr. A. L. Srivastava at some places or supplemented these at others. He has ascertained the date of the Raja's appointment as joint Wazir and pointed out for the first time that the Raja was made not only *Mashraf-i-diwan* but also *de facto* Vakil. His military activities which throw light on his strategy and tactics led him to bestride the whole of Northern India from Gujarat in the West, Malwa, Rajasthan to Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in the east as well as to the North-Western frontier. His administrative activities were specially memorable for his revenue reforms (e. g. the formulation of the Twelve Regulations in 26th and not 27th year of Akbar's reign and the ryotwari system). There is ample justification for the author's claim that 'Akbar owed much to Todar Mal for his military, administrative

and financial achievements.' His cultural and religious activities reveal a hitherto unknown chapter in Indian renaissance of 16th century.

Dr. Das has displayed great skill not only in marshalling his facts, often hopelessly contradictory, but also exemplary care in identifying every person and every place name. Five appendices deal with controversial points. Now at last the scholarly world has got from the author an outstanding biography truly worthy of an outstanding minister-general and a man of culture of 16th Century India, adorning the reign of an outstanding king.

J. N. Sarkar

PREFACE

Akbar's reign of fifty years is one of the most important and epochmaking periods in Indian history. Whatever is known as the Mughal empire, Mughal administration, Mughal art and architecture, practically took shape during this time. All these developments were undoubtedly possible due to the liberality, foresight and wisdom of a genius like Akbar. It is, therefore, just natural that scores of historians have been attracted to conduct researches on this great personality. But it should be borne in mind that even a genius like Akbar needed the assistance of certain able and talented personnel, experts in various branches relating to statecraft and other fields concerning human activities in order to translate his lofty ideals into reality. Although quite a good number of works have been written on Akbar and his reign, researches on the personnel, who greatly helped Akbar in making his reign memorable and immortal, have been fewer. Only two complete research works have been made viz, *Raja Man Singh* of Amber by Dr. Rajiva Nain Prosad and *Raja Bir Bar* by Dr. Paramesvar Prosad Sinha.[1] Apart from these, a few articles have been written on certain aspects of Bairam Khan, Todar Mal, Bir Bar, Tan Sen, 'Abdur Rahim Khan and others.

Raja Todar Mal was one of the most remarkable men in the medieval history of India. An energetic, enterprising and self-made man, the Raja rose, by dint of his extraordinary calibre, through successive stages from the humble position of a writer to that of the revenue minister of Akbar and finally to the exalted post of *mashraf-i-diwan* and virtual *vakil* of the Mughal empire. The learned Abu-l-Fazl writes about him : "He was the unique of the

1. Dr. Iqtedar Alam's book on Munim Khan has been published after the submission of this thesis.

Age for uprightness, straightforwardness, courage, knowledge of affairs, and the administration of India (Hindustan).”[2] Todar Mal was made a *chahar hazari* i. e., the *mansabdar* of 4000 for his courage, military ability and successes in the battle field. But he is more famous and better known to the Indian people as one of the greatest revenue experts ever produced in India. Blochmann observes . “Todar Mal's fame, as general and financier has outlived the deeds of most of Akbar's grandees ; together with Abu-l-Fazl and Man Singh, he is best known to the people of India at the present day.”[3] The Raja was also a great scholar and patron of learning.

Indeed Raja Todar Mal was a brilliant personality. But we are practically in the dark about the various stages of his life. No connected and systematic account of his life-history has come down to us. The Raja was somewhat unlucky in not having any source exclusively or mainly devoted to him. All we know about him is from the incidental references by the contemporary authors dealing with the life and works of Akbar. Moreover, some of these authors were not only unkind but even hostile to the Raja. Badayuni, an important contemporary authority, used to cherish bitter feelings against the Raja in particular and the Hindus in general. This is glaringly evident from the author's remark on the death of Raja Todar Mal and Raja Bhagwant Das. He writes : “In the year nine hundred and ninetyeight Raja Todar Mal and Raja Bhagwan Das (Bhagwant Das) *amir-ul umara*, who had remained behind at Lahore, hastened to the abode of hell and torment, and in the lowest pit became the food of serpents and scorpions, may God scorch them both.”[4]

Among the very few references to Todar Mal's activities made by Bayazid, another contemporary author, two

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2. A. N. III. p. 569 , Eng. Tr. p. 862.
3. Ain. I. Eng. Tr. p. 378.
4. M. T. II. p. 371 ; Eng. Tr. p. 383.

are related to his dispute with the Raja and in these references their unfriendly relation is quite evident.

Even Abu-l-Fazl, the contemporary official historian, who supplies us practically all the information about the Raja's activities during Akbar's reign, was unkind to him. The author once complained against the Raja to the emperor.[5] Abu-l-Fazl gives very meagre information about some of the most important activities of Todar Mal although he has praised the Raja for the particular deeds performed by the latter. On the other hand, he has condemned the Raja, somewhat unfairly, for certain dark aspects of his character, most of which the Raja did not actually suffer from. It must, however, be admitted that Abu-l-Fazl did not fail to point out some bright features of Todar Mal's character.

The other contemporary Persian authorities viz., Arif Qandhari, Nizamu-d-din, Ferishta and Ilahdad Faiz Sarhindi, are free from any bias against the Raja.

As all the above mentioned authors have referred to Todar Mal's various activities in narrating the events of Akbar's life and reign, they do not care to furnish us with the details of his life and works before Akbar's reign. They are silent about his parentage and do not even mention his father's name.

Apart from giving a few supplementary information, the near contemporary and later Persian writers followed the footsteps of their predecessors.

The contemporary Sanskrit treatise, the *Todarananda*, in spite of its proneness to exaggeration and eulogy, supplies us with valuable information about the Raja's ancestry and the name of seven generations preceding him. It also mentions the Raja's sub-caste, his religious belief and some of his benevolent activities. The *Todarananda* is not only a shining example of the Raja's commendable patronage of learning but is a mirror of the Raja's personality and appearance. Of the other contemporary Sanskrit

5. M. U. II. p. 127; Eng. Tr. p. 955.

sources, an inscription which mentions the Raja's sub-caste and benevolent activities, and the Raja's commentary on *Nidanasthana*, a section of *Astangahriday Samhita*, are very important.

A contemporary Bengali source, *Kavikankan Chandi*, helps up greatly in ascertaining the revenue settlement of Bengal as made by Todar Mal although it does not make any direct reference to the Raja.

Some Hindi works, although later in date, are very important. They mention the Raja's date of birth and service under Sher Shah and also furnish us with some of the literary works of the Raja as discussed in Section II, Chapter XII.

Apart from the meagre information supplied by the Sanskrit and Hindi sources, we are practically in the dark about the Raja's activities before Akbar's reign. So we have to depend on some contradictory traditions in order to ascertain the Raja's birth place. Besides, his only work under Sher Shah, as mentioned by *Tarikh-i-Khah Jahan Lodi wa Makhzan-i-Afghana*, a contemporary work, we know practically nothing about the Raja's work before 1562 when he was first mentioned during Akbar's reign. As the authors of Akbar's reign have made incidental references to Todar Mal's activities, many gaps still remain between one event and another.

Notwithstanding these handicaps I have, in my humble way, tried to prepare the present work relating to the Raja's life and activities, after a patient study of ten years. For this purpose, I had to visit different places for collecting materials—Bikaner (in November, 1566, to consult the various sections of the *Todarananda*), Agra (on 30th September, 1571, to discuss some controversial points relating to the Raja's appointment to various administrative posts with Dr. A. L. Srivastava), Patna (in July, 1572, to consult a contemporary revenue document-*Haqiqat-i-Raqba Todar Mali Pargana Bhagalpur Sarkar Monghyr Mazaf Subah Bihar 1001 Fasli*) and Benares (in April, 1573,

to see the site of the Visvanatha Temple, built under the patronage of Todar Mal.

The work has been divided into thirteen Chapters, subdivided into several sections. In Section I of Chapter I, the opinion held by Mr. Ferrar and Mr. Blochmann that Todar Mal was born at Laharpur has been confirmed with new arguments. The Raja's genealogy, caste and sub-caste have been narrated in Section II. These have been discussed by Dr. P. L. Vaidya, but here I have put forward some new evidences. In Section III, efforts have been made to ascertain the probable date of the Raja's birth. Dr. K. R. Qanungo has dealt with it. But new evidences and fresh arguments have been adduced here in discussing this topic. Section IV depicts a few events of the Raja's early life. In this section I have tried with new arguments to show that Todar Khatri of Sher Shah's time and Raja Todar Mal of Akbar's reign are one and the same person.

Chapter II deals with the Raja's early activities under Akbar and is divided into 6 sections. Section I discusses the probable date of Todar Mal's joining the Mughal service. I have shown in Section II that the Raja was appointed *diwan-i-khalsa* in 970 H/1562-63. In Sections III, IV and VI, Todar Mal's role in the expeditions against Malwa and the Uzbeg rebels has been narrated, whereas V. Smith and Dr. A. L. Srivastava have only once referred to Todar Mal in connection with the Uzbeg rebellion. In Section V, the Raja's appointment as joint *wazir* in 1566 has been ascertained. The entire Chapter is practically original.

Chapter III deals with Todar Mal's contribution to the capture of the fort of Chitor and Ranthambhor. This is also new as V. Smith and Dr. A. L. Srivastava have made only incidental references to the Raja in course of Akbar's campaigns in these places.

Chapter IV, dealing with Todar Mal's first Gujarat campaign, is divided into 3 sections. In Section I, his appointment as *wazir-i-ala* in 1572 has been established.

Section II depicts his role in capturing the fort of Surat. Both the sections are wholly original. Section III refers to his settlement of Gujarat which is elaborately discussed in Section III, Chapter XI.

Chapter V, dealing with the Raja's role in the Mughal conquest of Bengal, is divided into 3 sections. The various stages of the Mughal conquest of Bengal are well known. But here it is approached from Todar Mal's point of view. It has been shown in Section I that the conquest of Bengal was possible owing to the unswerving loyalty, courage, determination and politic conduct of the Raja. In Section II, it is established for the first time that Todar Mal was made not only *mashraf i-diwan* but also *de facto vakil*. Section III deals with the Raja s contribution to the restoration of the Mughal rule in Bengal. In this section efforts have been made to determine the possible site of encampment of the contending parties—the Mughals and the Afghans—and also the theatre of their engagement.

Chapter VI discusses Todar Mal's measures to organise the distracted administrative and financial condition of the province of Gujarat and his successful suppression of the rebellion of the Mirzas. Dr. A. L. Srivastava has dealt with Todar Mal's second Gujarat campaign, but very briefly. Here I have dealt it in detail and have tried to trace out the causes behind his deputation and also his remedial measures from the vague and meagre account of the contemporary and later authorities.

Chapter VII, describing the Raja's campaign during the rebellion of Bihar and Bengal in 1580-81, is divided into 3 sections. Apart from discussing the various causes of the rebellion, Section I establishes that the Raja was entrusted with the leadership of the imperial forces sent against the rebels. This is fully original. As regards the subject matter of Section II, Vincent Smith has two very brief references only to Todar Mal's campaign against the Bihar rebels and Dr. A. L. Srivastava has dealt with it in very general way. But here Todar Mal's successful role

in suppressing this formidable rebellion has been discussed in detail. This section not only reveals the Raja's successful strategy and tactics but also his foresight and statesmanship which he had demonstrated in removing some of the fundamental causes of rebellion. Section III discusses the Raja's effort to conciliate between the contending Mughal generals—Khan 'Aziz Koka and Shahbaz Khan—and thereby to make the suppression of the rebels a complete success.

Chapter VIII depicts Todar Mal's appointment to some important administrative posts during the period between 1582 and 1585. In this Chapter it has been shown for the first time that the Raja formulated the Twelve Regulations in Akbar's 26th and not the 27th regnal year, that his position as *mashraf-i-diwan* was reiterated and that he was made *de facto vakil* for the second time.

Chapter IX deals in detail with the Raja's successful campaign against the Yusufzais. Dr. A. L. Srivastava has dealt with it only briefly.

Chapter X narrates the events of the last phase of his life and also illustrates his influence over some regional chiefs. This is wholly original.

Chapter XI deals with the Raja's administrative and benevolent activities and is divided into 6 sections. This is practically original. Historians like Smith and Dr. Srivastava describe the Raja's administrative reforms briefly and in a general way. Section I gives a resume of the various administrative posts held successively by the Raja throughout his official career. Section II gives a systematic account of the Raja's contribution to the *zabti* system of land revenue. In Section III, effort has been made to ascertain the various features of the settlement of Bengal as made by Todar Mal. An estimate of the Raja's contribution to the Mughal land revenue system has been made in Section IV. In Section V, the Raja's contribution to Akbar's currency system has been ascertained. Section VI narrates Todar Mal's various benevolent activities.

Chapter XII, describing the Raja's cultural and religious activities and divided into 4 sections, is also original. Section I establishes that he was a learned person, while Section II depicts him as a patron of letters. Section III narrates his architectural activities. In Section IV, his religious belief and activities have been discussed.

The concluding Chapter XIII gives a general estimate of the Raja's character and achievement—as a man, statesman and general—and assesses the Raja's place in history.

Apart from the above mentioned 13 Chapters, there are five appendices dealing with the more controversial points and Todar Mal's family. It should be mentioned that some repetitions have been made in order to study and explain certain events in their proper perspective.

Before concluding, I must express my gratitude to some distinguished scholars and a number of my friends and well-wishers without whose assistance it would have been practically impossible for me to complete this thesis. The prime of position must go to my esteemed supervisor Dr. Jagadish Narayan Sarkar, the former Head of the Department of History, Jadavpur University, who suggested the subject to me and whose fatherly treatment and learned guidance have served as a beacon light in my endeavour to prepare this work. I express my reverence and gratitude to late Dr. A. L. Srivastava, the former U. G. C. Professor of History, Agra College, Agra and late Dr. N. K. Sinha, formerly Sir Ashutosh Professor of Medieval and Modern Indian History and Head of the Department of History, University of Calcutta, for spending their valuable time in discussing with me some controversial points. I am grateful to Dr. K. K. Dutta, the former Vice-Chancellor, Patna University, for his kind assistance during my visit to Patna. I also express my sincere tregards to my teacher Professor Subas Sinchan Roy, Head of the Department of History, Surendranath College, Calcutta, for his valuable suggestions and kind help. I am beholden to Dr. Irfan Habib, Professor, Department of History, Aligarh University,

who had kindly sent a typed copy of Todar Mal's Twelve Regulations contained in the MS Add 27,247, British Museum, to Dr. Sarkar for my use. Dr. P. K. Lahiri Chaudhury, Senior Medical Officer, Blood Bank, S. S. Karnani Hospital, Calcutta, has laid me under deep debt of gratitude by helping me in various ways. I am obliged to Dr. A. L. Thakur, Director, Mr. B. P. Ambastya, Research Officer, and Muhammad Yahya, the Scribe, K. P. Jayswal Research Institute, who helped me greatly in consulting some contemporary MSS and documents and also to the staff and authorities of National Library and The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, the Oriental Public Library and K. P. Jayswal Research Institute, Patna, Nagri Pracharini Sabha, Benares, the Anup Sanskrit Library Bikaner, the State Archives of Rajasthan and Bihar and the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, who either lent or permitted me to use their MSS and other valuable collections. I must express my heartful thanks to my colleague Sri Subhas Chandra Majumder, Lecturer, Burdwan Raj College, for the trouble he has taken in preparing the Index. I shall be failing in my duty if I do not acknowledge my obligations to my friends and well-wishers like Dr. Asok Kumar Bhattacharya, Lecturer, University of Calcutta, Dr. Amitava Bhattacharya, Lecturer, University of Calcutta, and others, who rendered their assistance in one way or another in the preparation of this work.

I am also thankful to Saraswat Library, Calcutta, for undertaking to publish this work with due care and attention.

Kumud Ranjan Das

ABBREVIATIONS

Add : Additional Collection, British Museum.

Ain : *Ain-i-Akbari* of Abu-l-Fazl.

A. N. : *Akbarnama* of Abu-l-Fazl.

A. S. A. I. : *Agrarian System of Ancient India* by Dr. U. N. Ghosal.

A. S. B. The Asiatic Society of Bengal.

A. S. L. Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner.

A. S. M. I. : *The Agrarian System of Moslem India* by W. H. Moreland.

Bayazid : *Tadhkira-i-Humayun Wa Akbar* by Bayazid Biyat.

B. B. R. A. S. : Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Bernier : *Travels in the Mogul Empire* by Francois Bernier, Eng. Tr. by A. Constable, ed. by V. A. Smith.

Blochmann : *Ain-i-Akbari*. I. Eng. Tr. by H. Blochmann, ed. by D. C. Phillott.

B. M. C. British Museum Catalogue of Mughal Coins by Stanely Lane Poole.

B. O. R. I. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

Campos : *A History of the Portuguese in Bengal* by J. J. Campos.

C. G. H. B. : *Contributions to the Geography and History of Bengal* by H. Blochmann.

Chahar Chaman : *Chahar Chaman-i-Brahman* by Chandra Bhan.

D. G. *District Gazetteer.*

Elliot : *History of India as told by its Own Historians* by Elliot and Dowson.

Eng. Tr. English Translation.

Ferishta : *Gulsan-i-Ibrahimi or Tarikh-i-Ferishta* by Mulla Muhammad Qasim Hindu Shah alias Ferishta.

Gopichander Gan : *Gopichander Gan* ed. by Dr. Ashutosh Bhattacharya.

I. A. *Indian Antiquary.*

I. F. S. *Akbarnama* by Ilahdat Faiz Sarhindi.

I. G. *Imperial Gazetteer.*

I. Habib : *The Agrarian System of Mughal India* by Dr. Irfan Habib.

I. M. C. *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum* by H. N. Wright.

J. A. S. B. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*

J. B. R. S. : *Journal of Bihar Research Society.*

K. *A Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS Existing in the Central Provinces,* ed. by Dr. F. Kielhorn.

Khafi Khan : *Muntakhab-ul-Lubub* by Khafi Khan.

Lahore : *Report on the Compilation of the Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts for the Year 1879-80* by Pandit Kashi Nath Kunte, Lahore.

L. M. C. : *Catalogue of Coins in the Lucknow Museum* by C. J. Brown.

M. A. Q. : *Tarikh-i-Akbarshahi* by Maulana 'Arif Qandhari.

Manucci : *Storio do Mogor* by Nicolao Manucci, Eng. Tr. by W. Irvine.

Memoirs : *Memoirs on the Races of the North Western Provinces* by H. M. Elliot, ed. by John Beams.

Mirat : *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* by 'Ali Muhammad Khan.

M. T. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* by 'Abdul Qadair Badayuni.

M. U. *Ma'asiru-l-Umara* by Shah Nawaz Khan and 'Abdul Hai.

O. P. L. : Oriental Public Library, Patna.

Pelsaert : *Remonstrantie* by Francisco Pelsaert, Eng. Tr., by W. H. Moreland.

P. M. C. : *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum Lahore.* 2 vols. by R. B. Whitehead.

Rehala : *Rehala* of Ibn Batuta, Eng. Tr. by Dr. Mahadi Husain Khan.

Riyaz : *Riyaz-us-Salatin* by Ghulam Husain Salim.

R. K. V. *Ram Das Kachhwaha ki Varta* by Kanha Bard.

S. A. *Bihar Bengal aur Orissa Men Todar Mal ki Karguzarian* by Safdar 'Ali.

Steingass : *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary* by F. Steingass.

Sadiq Khan : *Shahjahan-nama* by Sadiq Khan.

T. A. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* by Khwaja Nizamu-d-din Ahmad.

T. M. Todar Mal.

Tod *The Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* by James Tod.

T. S. *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi* by 'Abbas Khan Sarwani.

Visva Kos : *Visva Kos* ed. by Nagendranath Basu.

Vallabha Digvijay : *Vallabha Digvijay* by Jadunathji.

Wilson : *A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms* by H. Wilson.

Zia Barani : *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi* by Zia Barani.

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CHAPTER I
Early Life

I. Place of Birth

Raja Todar Mal, one of the most important figures in the history of India, is well known to the students of Indian history and to some extent to the Indian people in general. Contemporary or near contemporary Persian writers viz., Haji Muhammad 'Arif Qandhari, Abu-l-Fazl, Nizamu-d-din, Badayuni, Bayazid Biyat, Ferishta and Mutamid Khan furnish us with many details about his life and activities. But they are practically silent regarding his birth place, parentage, the date of birth and early life. Only Nizamu-d-din writes: "Raja Todar Mal belonged to the clan of *khatris* and writers".[1] This means that Todar Mal was a *khatri* by caste and writer by profession.

The *Ma'asiru-l-Umara*, the famous biographical dictionary of the Mughal nobles, written in the 18th century, also does not throw any light regarding his origin and early life and is ambiguous about his birth place. It only states that "Todar Mal was a Lahori *khatri*".[2] It seems from this statement that Todar Mal might have been born at Lahore or belonged to the caste of *khatris* of Lahore. Elliot also says that Raja Todar Mal was a *khatri* and a native of Lahore.[3]

This means that Todar Mal belonged to Lahore. The question formed the subject of a controversy as reflected in the correspondence between Blochmann and M. L. Ferrar, a civilian officer of Sitapur,[4] Awadh. Blochmann, at first,

1. T. A. II. p. 433; Eng. Tr. II. p. 660.
2. M. U. II. p. 123; Eng. Tr. II. p. 951.
3. Elliot. V. p. 303n.
4. Sitapur district was in Lucknow division of Awadh and

held that Todar Mal "was born at Lahore".[5] But this view was disputed by Ferrar as the people of Laharpur[6] in Sitapur district claimed the Raja to be a native of their town. Thereupon Blochmann revised his earlier view. The evidence of a respectable *Brahman* of Laharpur discloses the fact that Todar Mal's father was a 'Punjabi *khatri*' while his mother was the daughter of a '*Chapari khatri*' in Laharpur. Todar Mal himself was born at Laharpur and spent his boyhood there.[7]

comprised the tract of country lying between the parallels of 27° 6' and 27° 54' N and 80° 18' and 81° 24' E. D. G. Sitapur (1905). p. 1.

5. Ain. I. Eng. Tr. p. 376. The English translation of *Ain-i-Akbari*, as made by Blochmann, was published part by part by Asiatic Society of Bengal. The correspondence between Blochmann and Ferrar started after the publication of 4th fasciculus, which contains the above quoted statement of Blochmann. That is why we have stated 'at first'.

6. Laharpur is situated in 27° 42' N and 80° 55' E, 17 miles north-east of Sitapur town. I. G. XVI. p. 95.

7. Ain. I. Eng. Tr. p. 687. The following is the gist of correspondence between M. L. Ferrar and Blochmann. Ferrar wrote : "In Fasc. IV, of your translation of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, you record that Raja Todar Mal was born at Lahore Would you kindly inform me which of the native historians gives his biography ? I ask this as the people of Laharpur, a large town of 1100 inhabitants in the *pargana* of same name, in this district (Sitapur) and included in the *Ain-i-Akbari* in *Sarkar* 'Khairabad', all believe that he was a native of their town. I am inclined to think that they had good grounds for their belief, for in the first place, the Raja was not a mythical personage, like Ram Chander or King Birat, whose birth place is claimed by many places and secondly, heard by Laharpur is Rajapur called after the Raja and having a yearly *mela* in his honour. At present there is a large community of *khatris* (the Raja's caste) at Laharpur. I think the point is worth clearing up." Proceedings of A. S. B. (1871). p. 178.

Blochmann answered that he thought that the Laharpuri Raja might be Todar Mal Shahjahani, a distinguished Hindu courtier of Shahjahan's time. But the Laharpuri "evidently meant Akbar's renowned minister of Finance". He also asked Ferrar "to obtain more particulars" about the Raja's father, as the

On the publication of Ferrar's letter, Maulana Muhammad Husain reiterated the view current in upper India that Todar Mal was a *khatri* of Lahore, belonging to Chunian in Lahore district. He writes against Ferrar's view that "the people of Lahore are not willing to resign their claim on Todar Mal", adding that "Todar Mal's name often occurs in old popular songs in which he is invariably called a *Tunan khatri* of Lahore", and there were "several buildings in Lahore and a tank, ascribed to Todar Mal". Nevertheless Maulana Husain does not challenge Ferrar's opinion that the Raja was born in Laharpur, adding that "the fact that Todar Mal first served Akbar in Awadh may be looked upon as supporting Mr. Ferrar's account". Later on in his work, *Darbar-i-Akbari*, he also gives both the versions without making any comment.[8]

Another modern scholar, Syad Muhammad Latif, states that Todar Mal "was a *khatri* of Chunian in the Lahore district. His private residence at Lahore was in Bazar Hakiman, Bhati Gate".[9]

latter was not mentioned in the histories. Proceedings of A. S. B. (1871). p. 178.

In reply Ferrar wrote: "Since my last, I have been informed by a respectable *Brahman* of that place that Todar Mal's father was a 'Punjabi *khatri*' and came and married the daughter of a Chapari *khatri* in Laharpur, where the son was born. The latter seems to have lived there during his boyhood." Proceedings of A. S. B. (1871). pp. 178-79. Blochmann finally endorsed Ferrar's opinion and wrote, "The *Ma'asiru-l-Umara* says that Todar Mal was born at Lahore. But it is now certain that Todar Mal was born at Laharpur in Audh." Ain. I. Eng. Tr. p. 687. But it should be borne in mind that the *Ma'asiru-l-Umara* does not state that Todar Mal was born at Lahore. It only states that Todar Mal was a Lahori *khatri*. M. U. II. p. 123.

8. Maulana Husain wrote a letter giving details about Todar Mal's birth place to Dr. R. L. Mitra. The latter gave it to Blochmann, who had its extracts translated and published in Proceedings of A. S. B. 1872. p. 36. Also see *Darbar-i-Akbari*. p. 519.

9. Syad Muhammad Latif, *Lahore*. p. 30.

It is interesting to note that neither Maulana Husain nor Syad Latif specifically states that the Raja was born in Chunian or Lahore. The claim of Lahore can be understood because his father, according to all sources, belonged to Lahore. The tradition ascribing several ruined buildings and a tank at Lahore to the Raja is partly supported by Abu-l-Fazl who states that the Raja had a tank dug near Lahore. Moreover, it is known from the contemporary sources that Todar Mal spent the last days of his life at Lahore and died there. But if the Raja was not born in Laharpur with which he and his father had had no other connection, how could the tradition regarding Laharpur mentioned by Ferrar grow there? On the other hand, no such tradition exists at Agra or Benares with which the Raja had long and warm relations. This leads us to hold that there are certain grains of truth in the claim of the people of Laharpur that Todar Mal was born at their place. Captain Von Noer also concurred in this view and stated that "of the natives of India whom Akbar had the tact to win, by far the most respectable was Todar Mal, a *khatri* of Laharpur in Audh."[10]

On a consideration of all these views of contemporary and later writers, it is clear that Todar Mal was claimed both by the people of Lahore and Laharpur. These conflicting claims can be reconciled in the following manner. His father who belonged to Lahore, came to Laharpur and married a girl (his mother) belonging to *Chapari khatri* family of that place. Todar Mal was born not at Lahore but at Laharpur in Awadh, his maternal grandfather's place. It is only in this way that we can understand why the *Ma'asir* described Todar Mal as a Lahori *khatri*, Lahore being his paternal residence.

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10. *Kaiser Akbar*. I. Eng. Tr. p. 145. Smith (*Akbar The Great Mogul*. p 175) and Dr. A. L. Srivastava (*Akbar The Great*. I. p. 364 also hold this view.

II. Parentage

None of the above mentioned contemporary and later Persian authorities speaks anything of Todar Mal's ancestry and even of the family to which he belonged. Among the modern writers Mr. Ferrar informs that the Raja was a *Mehra khatri*.[11] But Maulana Muhammad Husain writes, on the basis of investigation among the people of Lahore, that Todar Mal belonged to the family of *Tandons*.[12] Evidently the tradition of Todar Mal's family connection survived right up to that time. We have certain contemporary epigraphic and literary sources in Sanskrit which confirm Maulana's information that Todar Mal came of a *Tandon* or *Tandana* family. The most unimpeachable evidence is supplied by an inscription written on a stone found in the Draupadi-kunda at Benares. It states that Todara of *Tandana* family constructed that beautiful reservoir in 1646 *Samvat* / 1589-90.[13] As regards literary evidence, we have a contemporary Sanskrit treatise, *Todarananda*, compiled under the patronage of Raja Todar Mal between 1572 to 1589.[14] It is an encyclopaedia of astronomy, medicine, civil and religious laws etc. The work consists of twentythree parts, called *Saukhyas*. The first part of the work called '*Sarga Saukhya*', not only mentions Todar Mal's caste and sub-caste but also gives the genealogy. The gist of the *slokas* relating to the genealogy is as follows.

Bala who was the sun to the lotus of the *Rajanya* family and a *Parijata* (tree) from the ocean of the family of *Tandana*, was a devotee of one arising from the water of the feet of Visnu (i. e. the Ganges).

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11. *Proceedings of A. S. B.* (1872). p. 35.

12. *Darbar-i-Akbari*. p. 519.

13. *Itihasasamgraha*. I. Pt. IV. p. 20; *History of the Dharmasastras*. I. p. 422; *Todaranandam*. I. p. 394.

14. *History of the Dharmasastras*. I. p. 421; *Todaranandam*. I. pp. XVII, XXX.

His son Attali was a brave and powerful leader.

His son Dama was a devotee of Rama and the enemy of Kama or beloved of the enemy of Kama.

His son Assu, whose fame extended to the furthest limits of the world, was a devotee of Krisna.

His son Dvarkadasa was respected by the scholars and adorned by the *kshatriyas* trained in the decorum and political wisdom.

His son was Dvijamalla, whose fame had whelmed the horizons on many occasions.

His son Bhagavatidasa who was famous all over the world for his achievement, was addicted to the honey of the lotus-like feet of Krisna.

His son Sri Todara, the king of the earth, had become victorious all over the world. He was an ornament of the whole world, a repository of all virtues and during whose rule resembling that of Indra, the earth became free from the pangs of separation of Krisna and Yudhisthira.[15]

Thus in the above *slokas* we get the names of seven generations preceding Todar Mal. The genealogical table is as follows :

Bala
|
Attali
|
Dama or Damadara
|
Assu
|
Dvarkadasa
|
Dvijamalla
|
Bhagavatidasa
|
Todara

15. *Todaranandam*. I. pp. 4, 5.

On the basis of this evidence, it may be said that Todar Mal was a *kshatriya*[16] by caste and came of a *Tandon* or *Tandana* family as Bala from whom the family descends is said to be the sun to the lotus of the *Rajanya* family and a *parijata* from the ocean of the family of *Tandana* in the first *sloka*. The colophon of the *Jyotisa Saukhya* of the *Todarananda* states that Todaramalla was a scion of *Tandala* (or *Tandana*) family.[17]

Last of all, the colophon of the Sanskrit drama '*Kamsavadha*' which had been composed by Sesakrisna at the end of the 16th century under the patronage of Todar Mal's son Govardhanadhari, states that Todar Mal belonged to the family of *Tandana*.[18]

III. Date of Birth

Neither the Persian chroniclers nor the Sanskrit writers mention the date of Todar Mal's birth. Among the modern writers it was Thakur Siv Singh, the author of *Sivsingha Saroj*, a history of Hindi literature composed in 1873-74 (*Samvat* 1930), who first mentioned the date of his birth. According to him Todar Mal was born in 1580 *Samvat* / 1523-24.[19] He is supported by *Misrabandhu Vinod*. Mr. Grierson accepts this date.[20] The authors of *Visva Kos*[21] also hold this view. Dr. K. R. Qanungo writes that Todar

16. The Persian authorities have mentioned Todar Mal as *khatri*. *Khatri* and *Kshatriya* are synonymous. W. Crooke, *The Tribes and Castes of North Western Provinces and Oudh*. III. pp. 264-267; Wilson. p. 284.

17. The *Jyotisa Saukhya* was composed in 1494 *Saka* / 1572-73 by Nilkantha at the order of Todar Mal. BORI 915 of 1886-92. f. 38a; *Todaranandam*. I. pp. 308-309.

18. *Kamsavadha*. p. 5.

19 *Sivsingha Saroj*. Introduction. p. 425; *Misrabandhu Vinod*. I. p. 271.

20. *Modern Vernacular Literature*. pp. 34, 35.

21. *Visva Kos*. VII, p. 401.

Mal was born about the year 1499 or 1500. In support his opinion, he puts forward the arguments that Todar M was not a product of Akbar's reign and that in 1589 he w very old and wished to die on the bank of the Gang This date is, however, purely conjectural.[22]

As Todar Mal was a Hindi poet,[23] the opinion of tl authors of Hindi literature should get due importanc It seems from their unanimity that the said date ha been traditionally current as the Raja's date of birt In the absence of any contemporary evidence, we inten to accept the year 1580 *Samvat* / 1523-24 as Todar Mal's da of birth.

IV. Early Life

Regarding Todar Mal's early life, the *Tafrih-ul-Imar* (written in the 19th century) states that Todar Mal lost hi father when he was quite young. As his father left n provision, he and his mother fell in great distress. Bu he overcame these difficulties by dint of his intelligenc and common sense and secured the job of a writer.[24] Ellic also states almost the same facts.[25]

Niamutallah, the author of *Tarikh-i-Khan Jahan Lod wa Makhzan-i-Afghanah* has mentioned one Todar *khatr* who served under Sher Shah. He writes: "Sher Shah issue *farmans* to complete the fortifications of Rohtas (in th Jhelum district). The Gakkhars, to whom that countr belonged, made a vow among themselves that no one shoul serve as day-labourer in the construction of the fort. If an one acts to the contrary, he must be destroyed···Toda *khatri* complained of it to Sher Shah who wrote in reply 'I knew you a man of business and of understanding an intelligence. I see now no work can be expected from yo

22. *Sher Shah.* p. 405n.
23. See Section I, Chapter XII.
24. *Tafrih-ul-Imarat.* ff. 80a-83b ; *Visva Kos.* VII. p. 401.
25. Elliot. V. p. 303n. Quoted later p. 15.

because you consider money as your friend. When I have commanded you to do a thing, you ought not to have cared for money in fixing the rate. Whatever be the expenses, shall be borne by my government'. Todar, on the reception of this fresh command, fixed first a golden *ashrafi* as the enormous remuneration for one stone, which induced the Gakkhars to flock to him in such numbers that afterwards a stone was paid with a rupee, and this pay gradually fell to five *tankas*, till the fortress was completed."[26] Todar Mal was highly praised by Sher Shah for his able and successful management and supervision of the work.[27]

Todar *khatri* of the Makhzan seems to be none but Raja Todar Mal of Akbar's time. It has already been established that Todar Mal was *khatri* by caste and his father was a native of the Punjab. It seems that owing to the family bond the Raja might have visited the Punjab frequently and was acquainted with its topography. Moreover, Todar Mal, as Dr. K. R. Qanungo suggests, was not a product of Akbar's reign.[28] We find him wielding considerable influence at Akbar's court in May, 1562, when he was first mentioned by Abu-l-Fazl.[29] He got, according to Badayuni, an important appointment in the revenue department of Akbar in 1562-63.[30] Our contention is that the experience he acquired and the ability that he demonstrated under Sher Shah had earned him important posts in the early years of Akbar's reign. Further, it will be seen (in a later chapter) that Akbar utilised his knowledge about the defensive arrangements of a fort during his Surat campaign.[31]

Our presumption that Todar Mal of Akbar's time and

26. Elliot. V pp. 114-15; Dorn. II. p. 131; *Sher Shah*. pp. 405, 406.
27. Elliot. V. p. 115.
28. *Sher Shah*. p. 405n.
29. A. N. II. pp. 169-70; Also see Section I, Chapter II.
30. M. T. II. p. 15. Also see Section II, Chapter II.
31. A. N. III. p. 17. Also see Section II, Chapter IV

that of Sher Shah's are one and the same person is also held by Elliot and Von Noer.

Elliot states: "His (Todar Mal's) father died when the son was quite young and left no provision for him. The youngman entered life as a writer, but he soon rose from a humble position, and was employed by Sher Shah in superintending the erection of New Rohtas. It was under the above government of Sher Shah that his natural talents were trained and developed, so that he was afterwards of inestimable service to Akbar, and made a name which still remains."[32] Von Noer writes: "Already under Sher Shah, he (Todar Mal) had given evidence of capacity ; from the lowly position of a writer, he had worked his way upwards until the great Pathan committed to him the construction of the fort of New Rohtas, in the Punjab when, by talent and perseverence, he succeeded in planting this mighty barrier in the path of the Gakkhars."[33]

Dr. R. P. Tripathi,[34] Dr. K. R. Qanungo,[35] Dr. A. L. Srivastava[36] and the *Misrabandhu Vinod*[37] also state that Todar Mal served under Sher Shah.

Thus, on the basis of the above discussion, it can be said that Todar Mal lost his father at a very young age and fell in great distress as his father died leaving no provision. But the young boy overcame the initial difficulty by securing the job of a writer. He then served under Sher Shah and amply demonstrated his intelligence and ability. The training he received under that Pathan ruler stood him in good stead in future during Akbar's reign.

32. Elliot. V. p. 303n.
33. *The Kaiser Akbar.* Eng Tr. I. p. 145
34. *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration.* p. 202.
35. *Sher Shah.* pp. 404-406.
36. *Akbar The Great.* I. p. 364.
37. *Misrabandhu Vinod.* I. pp. 271-72.

CHAPTER II

Early Activities Under Akbar

I. Probable Date of Todar Mal's Joining Mughal Service

In the absence of any specific mention by contemporary and later authorities, it is very difficult to determine the exact date when Todar Mal first entered the Mughal service. The *Ma'asiru-l-Umara* mentions none of Todar Mal's activities before the 18th regnal year / A. D. 1573-74 of Akbar.[1] But it seems from Badayuni that at the end of the year 970 H i. e., before the end of A. D. 1563, Todar Mal was appointed in the revenue department of Akbar.[2]

Abu-l-Fazl, of course, mentions Todar Mal's activities even earlier than 970 H / A. D. 1562-63. In harrating the events of the 7th regnal year (11th March 1562-10th March 1563) the author writes that "Raja Ganesh, the *zamindar* of Nandun—a Punjab territory in the hill-country between the Beas and Sutlej—had attacked Jan Muhammad Bahasudi, the *jagirdar* of *pargana* Birka in that neighbourhood. But he was defeated and deprived of his estates. He became a wanderer and then by the mediation of Raja Todar Mal, he was pardoned and enrolled in the imperial service.[3]

1. M. U. II. p. 123.
2. M. T. II. p. 65.
3. A. N. II. pp. 169-70. One important thing is to be noted here. In Sher Shah's time Todar Mal was mentioned in connection with the construction of the fort of Rohtas in 1541 simply as Todar *Khatri* (vide Section, iv, Chapter I). But during Akbar's reign all the contemporary writers addressed him as Raja Todar Mal from the very beginning (i. e., 1562). It is strange that none of them states when Todar Mal was honoured with the title of Raja although they have mentioned that he was honoured with the emperor's 'special sword' in 1573 (T. A II. p. 277) or 'a standard and drum' in

As Abu-l-Fazl does not mention the date of the incident, there arises the natural question: When did this event occur? It is not very difficult to ascertain the time of the incident. Abu-l-Fazl mentions it in course of depicting the events of the 7th regnal year which begins from 5th *Rajab*, 969 H / 11th March, 1562.[4] Again, after narrating the activities of Raja Ganesh of Nandun, Abu-l-Fazl mentions the murder of Shamsu-d-din, by Adham Khan which took place on 12th *Ramzan*, 969 H / 16th May, 1562.[5] It can, therefore, be said that the affairs of Raja Ganesh of Nandun and Todar Mal's subsequent mediation occurred sometimes between 11th March and 16th May, 1562.

Thus it is clear from the above facts that about this time Todar Mal already held an important position and enjoyed considerable influence in the Mughal court, as it was on his recommendation that Akbar pardoned Raja Ganesh of Nandun and appointed him in his service. It may therefore be reasonably assumed that Todar Mal must have entered the Mughal service some time before A. D. 1562.

II. Appointment as the Diwan-i-Khalsa

By 1562 Todar Mal had come to acquire considerable influence in the Mughal court. But we are in the dark as to the exact nature of the post he was then holding. Abu-l-Fazl is silent about his activities between the incident of Raja Ganesh of Nandun in March-May, 1562 and Akbar's Malwa campaign in July, 1564. Nizamu-d-din is also silent about Todar Mal's activities before the Malwa campaign. However, light is thrown on Todar Mal's career during this period by Badayuni. According to Badayuni, Todar Mal

1574 (A. N. III. p. 103). Perhaps Todar Mal got the title of Raja between 1541 and 1562. Immediately after, he has been mentioned by Badayuni as Raja of Rajas (or Maharaja). Vide Section ii of this Chapter.

4. Ibid. II. p. 158; Eng. Tr. p. 245.

5. Ibid. p. 174; Eng. Tr. p. 269.

joined the revenue department in 970 H / 1562-63 as successor of I'timad Khan. A critical study of Abu-l-Fazl and Badayuni reveals that the department of the *diwan-i-khalsa* was not in good shape. Corruption and embezzlement were rife here. To remedy this state of affairs, Akbar had appointed I'timad Khan *diwan* of the *khalsa* lands in the middle of the 7th regnal year / 11th March, 1562 to 10th March, 1563.[6]

The sources are silent regarding the exact duration of the tenure of I'timad Khan as *diwan-i-khalsa*. But the curt manner of Badayuni's narration[7] leads us to conclude that I'timad Khan did not hold this post for any length of time and that Todar Mal succeeded I'timad Khan in the same year i. e., 970 H / 1562-63 as the *diwan-i-khalsa*. The fact that in 971 H / 1563-64 Muzaffar Khan Turbati was appointed *diwan* of the empire[8] and gradually there appeared, according to Badayuni, a rivalry between him and the Raja[9] also supports our presumption.[10]

6. "He (the emperor) conferred upon him (Phul Malik) the title of I'timad Khan and made over to him all the *khalsa* lands of the empire, which were in the hands of the embezzlers". A. N. II. pp. 178-79, Eng. Tr. II. p. 277.

7. Badayuni states: "In this year (970 H / 1562-63) I'timad Khan, chief eunuch of Aslim Shah, obtained he highest consideration in the *harem* and even in state matters became the sovereign's confident. He showed so much novelties and savings such as were never before exhibited and everyday the (monetary) affairs of the (*diwani*) department became stronger whilst (he) was relieved by Raja Todar Mal" M. T. II. p. 65. We have made a change in the translation of the last sentence as made by Lowe (II. pp. 63-64) because the Text has "wa bid'atī wa kifāyatı chand paidā kard kah pesh az an nabūd wa har rozı kār wa bār dar *khāna* mustaḥakam tar mīgasht tā naubat barājā Todar Mal rasīd." When a hostile writer like Badayuni mentions Todar Mal's appointment, there is a strong presumption to hold that it is a fact.

8. A N. II. pp. 197-98.

9 M T. II. p. 66.

10. Dr. A. L. Srivastava states that "Since 1562 Aitimad Khan was diwan of *khalisa*, but in 1568 (975-76 H) Shihab-ud-din Ahmad khan

What prompted Akbar to honour Todar Mal with such a high post (*diwan-i-khalsa*)? As the sources furnish us with no information, we can only make a few inferences. Perhaps the experience that he had acquired and the efficiency that he had shown either under Sher Shah[11] or I'timad Khan or both had prompted the emperor to select him for the post.

While serving in this capacity Todar Mal, as is stated above, came into conflict with Muzaffar Khan Turbati in 971 H / A. D. 1563-64, when the latter was appointed *diwan* or *wazir*[12] of the empire. The reason of the conflict was

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was appointed to take his place" (*Akbar the Great*, II. p. 57). But this is not borne out by the facts as none of the sources state that Shihabu-d-din Ahmad Khan succeeded I'timad Khan as *diwan-i-khalsa*. Abu-l-Fazl states that as Muzaffar Khan, the *wazir* of the empire, was overworked and could not give proper attention to the affairs of the crownlands, Shihabu-d-din Ahmad Khan was entrusted with the office of the *khalsa* (A. N. II. p. 333). The *Ma'asiru-l-Umara* holds the identical view. (M. U. II. p. 568). This menas that when Shihabu-d-din Ahmad Khan was appointed, there was no one holding the post of *diwan i-khalsa* and it was conducted by Muzaffar Khan, the *diwan-i-ala*. It has been shown below that Todar Mal as the successor of I'timad Khan served upto A. D. 1566, when he was made joint-*diwan* or *wazir* with Muzaffar Khan Turbati. As no one was appointed in his place as *diwan-i-khalsa*, Muzaffar Khan, the *diwan*, had to look over its affairs and the post remained vacant upto A. D. 1568, when Shihabu-d-din Ahmad Khan was entrusted with it. This point was discussed with Dr. Srivastava by the present author.

11. Vide Section IV, Chapter—I.

12. *Wazir* also called *diwan*, "is the lieutenant of the Emperor in financial matters, superintends the imperial treasuries, and checks all accounts. He is the banker of the cash of the revenue, the cultivator of the wilderness of the world.....He explains all matters which appear too intricate for the *mustaufi* (deputy *diwan*), and whatever is beyond his ability he refers to *vakil*. The *mustaufi*, the *sahib-i-tawji* (The Accountant of the army), the *awarja nawis* (the Accountant of daily expenditure at court) the *mir saman* (the officer in charge of court furniture, stores etc,) The *nazir-i-buyutat* (Superintendent of the imperial workshops), the *diwan-i-buyutat*

probably the contradictory opinions held by them. Badayuni states "In the year 971 H / 1563-64 Khwaja Muzaffar Ali Turbati received the title of *Khan* and was made minister of finance (*wazir*) .....Meanwhile, day by day, a rivalry in matters general and particular went on between the Raja and him".[13]

The contemporary sources do not state the specific relationship between the *diwan-i-ala* and the *diwan-i-khalsa*. But it seems from Abu-l-Fazl that the *diwan-i-khalsa* was a part of the *diwan-i-ala* and, therefore, was subordinate to the latter.[14] This has been followed by the *Ma'asiru-l Umara*.[15] Both Acharya Jadunath Sarkar[16] and Dr. A. L. Srivastava[17] also interpret the relation in this way.

Badayuni then expresses his attitude towards Todar Mal and Muzaffar Khan Turbati through a verse which shows

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(the Accountant of the imperial workshops), the *mushrif* (clerk) of the treasury, the *waqia nawis* (the Recorder), the *amil* (collector) of the domains are under his orders and act by the force of his vision." Ain I. Eng. Tr. p. 6.

13. M T. II. p. 65; Eng. Tr. p. 64.

14. "The world adorning mind directed as the management both of political and financial matters was beyond Muzaffar Khan's powers and he could not give proper attention to exchequer (*khalsa*) affairs, one of able, peasantry-cherishing, honest and laborious officers should be specially appointed to this high office. In accordance with this idea H. M. nominated Shihabu-d-din Ahmad Khan—who possessed a large share of those qualities—to the office of the exchequer (*khalsa*)". A. N. II. p. 333. Eng, Tr. p. 488.

15. The *Ma'asiru-l-Umara* states that "as Muzaffar Khan, the chief *diwan*, could not, owing to the multifarious affairs, look after the *khalsa* properly, the latter was assigned to Shihab-ud-din Ahmad Khan." M. U. II. p. 568. Eng. Tr. II. p. 847.

16. "The Exchequer was presided over by the High Chanceller (*diwan-i-ala*), who bore the courtesy title of *wazir* and had two assistants called *diwan-i-tan* (or *diwan* of salaries) and the *diwan-i-khalsa* (or *diwan* of Crownlands)." *Mughal Administration* (1952) p. 27.

17. "The ministry of finance consisted of two wings *diwan-i-khalisa* and *diwan-i-jagirs*, and both these were under the *diwan-i-kul*, i. e., revenue and finance minister." *Akbar the Great*, II. p. 57.

that he considers the latter a better person than the former although the verse itself is a derogatory reflection on both of them.

"A dog of a Raja is better than Muzaffar Khan
Although a dog is a hundred times better than a Raja"[18]

Todar Mal's growing powers, position and influence became a matter of concern for the Muslim officers who lodged complaints against him to the emperor with requests for his dismissal. But Akbar refused to oblige them. He said in reply: "Every one of you has a Hindu to manage his private affairs. Suppose we too have a Hindu, why should harm come of it ?"[19] This utterance of Akbar shows that the Muslim nobility disliked the elevation of a Hindu like Todar Mal and was guided more by jealousy and communal feelings than by principles. Badayuni, who was an avowed anti-Hindu, expresses his ill-attitude towards Todar Mal in the following verse:

"He who of Indian affairs made a mull
Was the Raja of Rajas Todarmal."[20]

III. Todar Mal in Malwa

In July, 1564, Todar Mal accompanied Akbar in his campaign against Abdullah Khan Uzbeg,[21] the *subahdar* of Malwa, who had revolted against the imperial authority.

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18. M. T. II. p. 66, Eng. Tr. p. 64.

19. Ibid, Eng. Tr. p. 65.

20, Ibid, It is to be noted that Badayuni refers to Todar Mal as Raja of Rajas (or Maharaja) though sarcastically. This tends to show that Todar Mal was sometimes addressed as 'Maharaja', This is corroborated by the famous Sanskrit treatise *Todaranand*a in some sections of which Todar Mal is addressed as 'Maharaja' and 'Maharajadhiraj'. *Todaranandam* I, pp, 386, 398 and 403,

21, Abdullah Khan Uzbeg was one of the officers of Humayun's court, He played important role in winning the 2nd Battle of Panipat, He was made a *panchhazari* and died a natural death in Akbar's 10th regnal year / 1565-66, M. U. II. pp. 764-69; Blochmann, p. 337.

No reason of 'Abdullah's rebellion is furnished by the contemporary writers. Probably, having got the post of a governor he became power-corrupt and decided to become independent. Akbar became very much disturbed and decided to punish him. The emperor started his march on the pretext of elephant hunting on 2nd July, 1564. The imperial army reached the village Liwani in Indore on 5th August and on the 6th completely defeated 'Abdullah Khan Uzbeg who fled to Gujarat. The imperial forces returned to the capital on 9th October, 1564.[22]

According to Abu-l-Fazl there were 300 officers with the emperor on the day of victory. He gives the name of thirty (30) officers including that of Todar Mal.[23] As there is no other mention of Todar Mal's activities, it can be stated that he was with Akbar in his Malwa expedition from start to finish (2nd July-9th October, 1564).

IV. Todar Mal's Role During the First Uzbeg Campaign

Todar Mal next took an important part in suppressing the rebellion of the Uzbeg officers posted in the eastern region of the empire in May-June, 1565. The rebellion was led by 'Ali Quli Khan Khan Zaman,[24] the governor of Jaunpur, his brother Bahadur Khan,[25] their uncle Ibrahim

22. A. N. II. pp. 221, 226-28 and 235.

23. Ibid. p. 227-28.

24. 'Ali Quli Khan played a most vital role in winning the 2nd Battle of Panipat and was honoured with the title of Khan Zaman. Several times he rose in rebellion against Akbar and ultimately in 974 H / 1566-67 he was defeated and killed. M. U. I. pp. 785-92 ; Blochmann. pp. 335-37.

25. Bahadur Khan joined Humayun's service and was made *vakil* in Akbar's 5th regnal year / 1560-61. He was captured and executed in 1567. M. U. I. pp. 400-401 , Blochmann. p. 347.

Khan,[26] the *jagirdar* of Surharpur[27] and Iskandar Khan,[28] the governor of Awadh. The Uzbeg officers who constituted an important part of the Mughal army and government, had several reasons to become rebellious. They had played a vital role in the restoration of Humayun and in effecting conquests in India on his behalf. They had also rendered most valuable services in the Second Battle of Panipat. Thus they were of great help in the firm establishment of Akbar's authority as the emperor. Yet they were, for years, posted in the eastern region of the empire, the moist climate of which they disliked very much and had to carry out the strenuous task of destroying the Afghan resistance there; whereas, others who had not played any such significant role, were favoured with high posts in the court. Further, they were dissatisfied with Akbar's claim of four-fifths of war-booty for himself leaving only one-fifth for the leaders of the victorious army disregarding the traditional Islamic practice of giving four-fifths to the latter. Moreover, Akbar sometimes used to comment that the Uzbeg intrigue and disloyalty caused his father's troubles and after the rebellion of 'Abdullah Khan Uzbeg in Malwa his attitude towards them stiffened further. All these mingled with their personal ambition caused the rebellion. Akbar, on the other hand, had also several reasons to show discrimination against the Uzbegs. 'Ali Quli Khan had acted independently of the emperor several times and after his victory over the Afghans in the eastern region he did not send any booty to the court. 'Abdullah Khan Uzbeg, who

26. Ibrahim Khan also served under Humayun. During Akbar's reign he was given the rank of 4000. M. U. I. pp. 75-77. Blochmann. pp. 416-17.

27. Surharpur is a small village in Fyzabad district, U. P., lying in 26° 15' N and 80° 40' E. D. G. Fyzabad. p. 265.

28. Iskandar (Sikandar) Khan distinguished himself under Humayun. He died in 980 H / 1572-73. M. U. I. pp. 84-87, Blochmann. pp. 394-395.

remained disgruntled even after his appointment as governor of Malwa, in 1562, revolted in 1564 without any tangible reason.[29]

In March, 1564, when the emperor was engaged in hunting in a far off place, Narwar in Madhya Pradesh, the Uzbegs assembled at Jaunpur and decided to revolt. One section of the rebels under Ibrahim Khan and Iskandar Khan went towards Lucknow and forced the numerically inferior Mughal army under Muhammad Amin Diwana to take shelter inside the fort of Nimkhar.[30] But another section led by Khan Zaman and Bahadur Khan was somehow thwarted by Majnun Khan Qaqshal,[31] the *jagirdar* of Karra and Manikpur.

On receiving this news, Akbar at once ordered Mun'im Khan, the Khan Khanan,[32] to proceed with a body of troops to quell the rebels. The emperor himself also crossed the river Jamuna with a large army on the 24th May, 1565,[33] and compelled the Uzbeg rebels to withdraw from Lucknow, Karra and Manikpur and Jaunpur. Thereupon, the rebels crossed the river Ganges at the ford of Norhan[34] and came to Kandua, a rugged place on the other side of the river from Hajipur[35] and entrenched

29. A. N. I pp. 346-56; II. pp. 32-42, 249-50, T. A. II. pp. 79-84. 129-33, 180, M. T. I. pp. 452-63 ; II. pp. 11-16. 74-75.

30. Nimkhar is a town in Sitapur district, U. P. and lying on the left bank of the river Gumti. It is situated in 27° 22' N and 80° 29' E. D. G. Sitapur, p. 197.

31. Majnun Khan Qaqshal was a noble of Humayun. He died in 982 H / 1574-75. M. U. III. pp. 207-11; Blochmann. pp. 399-400.

32. Mun'im Khan was appointed guardian of Akbar in 1554. After Bairam Khan's fall he was appointed *vakil* and honoured with the title of Khan Khanan. He was given the rank of 5000. M. U III. pp. 667-77; Blochmann. pp. 333-34.

33. A. N. II. p. 251.

34. Norhan is in Champaran, Bihar.

35. Hajipur is the headquarters of the sub-division of the same name in Muzaffarpur district, Bihar, situated in 25° 41' N and 85° 12 E on the right bank of the Gandak, a short distance above its confluence with the Ganges opposite to Patna. I. G. XIII. p. 7.

themselves there. From Jaunpur the emperor sent an army which encamped opposite to the rebels' position at Kandua. He also took some diplomatic steps so that Khan Zaman could get no help from any quarter.

Khan Zaman did not remain idle. He deputed his brother Bahadur Khan and Iskandar Khan to Sarwar[36] with the double task of plundering and capturing that territory and diverting the attention of the imperial army. Despatching against these rebels a formidable army composed of important officers like Shah Budagh Khan,[37] Qiya Khan,[38] Baqi Khan,[39] Sa'id Khan[40] and others under the leadership of Mir Mu'izzu-l-mulk,[41] the emperor himself went to Allahabad to watch the progress of the expedition. Khan Zaman now realised that his strategy had failed. He, therefore, made peace with the Khan Khanan, the commander of the imperial army encamped opposite to him, in order to avoid his own shameful defeat and punishment. It was decided that he would send his mother and uncle Ibrahim Khan together with the petition of pardon of his offences and the well-known elephants in his possession to the court. And after imperial pardon of their crimes he and his brother Bahadur Khan and Iskandar Khan would come to the court and pay homage to the emperor.

But it did not bring the rebellion to a close. Meanwhile,

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36. Sarwar is identified with Surharpur. See note 27.

37. Shah Budagh Khan attained the rank of 3000 under Akbar. M. U. II. pp. 536-39; Blochmann. p. 402.

38. Qiya Khan was a *mansabdar* of 3000 and died in 1581. M. U. III. pp. 54-56; Blochmann. pp. 367-68.

39. Baqi Khan was the son of Maham Anag and died in the 30th regnal year / 1585-86 of Akbar. M. U. I. p. 394; Blochmann. pp. 413-14.

40. Sa'id Khan was a *mansabdar* of 3000 and appointed guardian of prince Daniel. M. U. II. p. 403-408.

41. Mir Mu'izzu-l-mulk was a *mansabdar* of 3000 under Akbar. In the 25th regnal year / 1580-81 he rose in rebellion and was subsequently defeated and captured. He died in the same year. M. U. III. pp. 227-31; Blochmann. pp. 414-15.

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on the arrival of the imperial army led by Mir Mu'izzu-l-mulk at *sarkar* Sarwar, Bahadur Khan and Iskandar Khan lost courage and made proposals for peace. But the peace negotiations bore no fruit and both sides began to prepare themselves for the ensuing battle. At this the emperor ordered Todar Mal and Lashkar Khan *mir bakhshi*[42] to go to Sarwar with their men.[43]

This is the first time that Todar Mal is mentioned in connection with the campaign against the Uzbeg rebellion. Wherefrom did he and Lashkar Khan go to Sarwar? Abu-l-Fazl is not clear in this regard. Nizamu-d-din states: "At this time Lashkar Khan the *mir bakhshi* and Raja Todar Mal arrived from the royal threshold.[44] As it is not stated that they joined the emperor sometime in the middle of the campaign, it can be assumed that both Todar Mal and Lashkar Khan were with the emperor from the very start of his march (24th May, 1565) against the rebels. This would imply that they were sent to Sarwar from his camp at Jaunpur.

Let us now examine the cause of the ensuing showdown and also fix the responsiblity for precipitating it. All the contemporary writers viz., Abu-l-Fazl, Nizamu-d-din and Badayuni agree that Todar Mal and Lashkar Khan were entrusted with the power to decide upon peace or war. Akbar instructed his generals to act according to the exigencies of the situation. If they thought it proper, they might fight to the last; otherwise they should accept the submission and ensure the safety of the rebel leaders.[45]

42. Lashkar Khan attained the rank of 2000 under Akbar. He died in the 20th regnal year / 1575-76. M. U. III. pp. 161-63; Blochmann. pp. 446-47.

43. A. N. II. p. 261; T. A. II. pp. 188-89.

44. T. A. II. pp. 188-89.

45. Abu-l-Fazl writes: "If they considered that fighting was the proper course they were to take part; if it seemed advisable to accept the petition of the rebels, they were not to allow them to despair of the royal clemency." A. N. III p. 26; Eng. Tr. p. 390.

At the same time there are differences between the accounts of Abu-l Fazl, Nizamu-d-din and Badayuni. Abu-l-Fazl fixes the responsibility for the campaign on the deceitful Uzbegs. He states that while Todar Mal and Lashkar Khan were willing to accept the sincere professions of submission of the Uzbegs, the latter themselves were deceitful and thus drew upon themselves the anger of the Mughal generals who had, then, no other alternative but to declare war. In other words, in spite of the efforts of Todar Mal and Lashkar Khan the peace-settlement could not be achieved due to the hypocritical attitude of the Uzbeg rebels. It is also to be noted that the imperial officers were unaware of the petition of pardon made by Khan Zaman to the emperor and the subsequent acceptance of the same.[46]

Nizamu-d-din, on the other hand, fastens the responsibility for the battle and the eventual shameful defeat of the Mughals on Mir Mu'izzu-l-mulk, the man on the spot. The latter was so eager for war that he turned a deaf ear to

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Nizamu-d-din states: "(They had instructions), that if they thought that it would be advisable to carry on the war, they should join with the victorious troops, and completely destroy and crush the enemy otherwise they should give assurances of safety to Iskandar Khan and Bahadur Khan, and bring them to the royal threshold." T. A. II. pp. 188-89; Eng. Tr. pp. 306-307.

Badayuni states that "If they thought it best, they might fight; but if not, they might hold out hopes to Sikandar and Bahadur." M. T. II. p. 8, Eng. Tr. p. 82.

46. Abu-l-Fazl states that after their arrival at Sarwar, Todar Mal and Lashkar Khan "at once sent a message to the rebels to the effect that if their protestation of devotions etc., were genuine they should honestly proceed to court. Otherwise, it was not manly to waste time and to put their heads to deceit. As their hearts and their tongues were not in accord, they were not guided aright. They waxed still bolder in their contumacy near Khairabad, and as the imperial army was not aware of the entreaties of Khan Zaman and of the graciousness announced by the Shahinshah, and also as the first body of troops had displayed indifference to fighting, the Raja and Lashkar Khan determined upon war and drew up their forces." A. N. II. p. 261 ; Eng. Tr. p. 390.

Bahadur Khan's fresh peace proposals after receiving the news of the arrival of the imperial army under Todar Mal and Lashkar Khan. He also states that Mir Mu'izzu-l-mulk was informed of the peace-parleys between Khan Zaman and the royal court by Bahadur Khan who also prayed that as Khan Zaman had sent his mother and Ibrahim Khan to the royal presence, they should wait for the arrival of a reply.[47]

Badayuni, on the whole, agrees with the account of Nizamu-d-din, but puts the blame upon both Mir Mu'izzu-l-mulk and Todar Mal. The author states that their stern attitude and harsh words forced Bahadur Khan to take up arms.[48]

The version of Abu-l-Fazl, the official historian, seems to be more acceptable. Neither Nizamu-d-din nor Badayuni mention Lashkar Khan, whose name is specifically mentioned in the royal order. Abu-l-Fazl's account is thus consistent with the imperial order. Moreover, it seems improbable that Todar Mal, one of the most cautious and loyal officers, would decide to wage war even after being informed of the petition of pardon made by Khan Zaman to the emperor.

The battle order of the imperial army was as follows: The Vanguard (*Harawal*) was led by Muhammad Amin Diwana, Ma'sum Khan Farrankhudi[49] and others. The Advance Reserve (*Iltmish*) was under Khan 'Alam,[50] Rai

47. T. A. II. pp. 188-89.

48. 'Mir Mu izz-ul-Mulk was a very fire, and Todar Mal played the part of oil of naphtha, and made that fire burn fiercer than ever, so that nothing but words of sternness passed on their tongue. So Bahadur Khan and Iskandar Khan becoming desperate, did what they thought best for their own interests, and drew up their army." M. T. II. pp. 80-81 ; Eng. Tr. p. 82.

49. Ma'sum Khan Farrankhudi was a *mansabdar* of 1000. He was murdered in A. D. 1582. M. U. III. pp. 246-49 ; Blochmann. pp. 491-92.

50. Khan 'Alam attained the rank of 3000 under Akbar and died in 982 H/ 1574-75 ; Blochmann. pp. 410-11.

Tipur Das[51] and some other officers. The Left Wing (*Jaranghar*) was commanded by Baqi Khan, Shah Budagh Khan and others. The Centre (*Ghol*) was led by Mir Mu'izzu-l-mulk, I'timad Khan Khwajasara, Todar Mal and Lashkar Khan and the Right Wing (*Baranghar*) was under Qiya Khan and a number of officers. The rebel army was divided into three groups. The Vanguard was commanded by Muhammad Yar and the other two groups were led by Iskandar Khan and Bahadur Khan respectively.

A hot engagement took place between the imperial army and the rebel forces. The Vanguard and the Advance Reserve of the royal forces attacked the Van of the rebels vigorously. Muhammad Yar and many other rebel officers were killed. Iskandar Khan who was behind the Vanguard with the second group of the rebel army could not also withstand the Mughal onslaught and left the battle-field. Pursued by the imperial forces Iskandar and his men plunged into the river which lay behind his position. Although he could somehow manage to come out of the river, most of his soldiers were either drowned or slain. The imperial army, flushed with victory, then spread out in all directions in pursuit and for plunder. Bahadur Khan, who had so long remained inactive, picked up the opportunity and attacked the Left Wing of the imperial army. Some important officers and men of this wing deserted their positions and joined the rebels while Muhammad Baqi Khan withdrew from his position under the pretext of guarding the bag and baggages. Only Shah Budagh Khan and his son 'Abdu-l-Matlab Khan fought valiantly without success. Emboldened by success Bahadur Khan then fiercely attacked the Centre of the imperial army. Mir Mu'izzu-l-mulk, the commander-in-chief and all the officers of the Centre except Todar Mal and I'timad Khan fled away without fight,

51. Tipur Das is mentioned as Patr Das by the modern writers. Dr. A. L. Srivastava has rightly corrected the mistake. Rai Tipur Das was honoured with the rank of 5000 during Akbar's reign and awarded the tittle of Raja Bikramjit. Blochmann. pp. 523-24.

while most of the commanders of the Right Wing except Qiya Khan either remained treacherously inactive or deserted the line. The troops under Todar Mal, I'timad Khan and Qiya Khan and some officers and men of the Advance Reserve gathered together and heroically withstood the rebels' fierce charge till the evening. But as the Left Wing was broken and the whole army was in confusion due to desertion, flight and inaction, their valiant efforts produced no results and ultimately they were separated and dispersed.[52]

Thus the decision to wage war taken by Todar Mal and Lashkar Khan resulted in a fiasco. Although the hypocritical attitude of the rebels compelled them to take such a stand, it was not judicious. Rather, the decision was a wrong and hasty one. They should have, first of all, considered the prevailing situation in their own camp where a group of troops, according to Abu-l-Fazl, had displayed indifference to fighting. Moreover, it would have been wiser for Todar Mal and Lashkar Khan, upon whom rested the decision as to peace and war, to show more patience to Bahadur's proposals specially when they were instructed not to make the rebels "despair of the royal clemency". Abu-l-Fazl justly criticizes them with the remark : "Those misunderstanding ones did not perceive with what perfect knowledge the Lord of the Age had directed a conciliatory course. Whoever acts in this way has himself to thank for the result."[53]

On the following morning Todar Mal and all other dispersed officers and men gathered together and started for the imperial camp at Qanauj. On their way they sent, in advance, a report of the incidents and of the treacherous behaviour of the officers concerned. But as Akbar had already forgiven Khan Zaman and other Uzbeg rebels on the recommendation of Mun'im Khan, he overlooked the

52. A. N. II. pp. 261-62 ; T. A. II. pp. 189-90 ; M. T. II. pp. 81-82.
53. A. N. II p. 262 , Eng Tr. p; 392.

offences of Bahadur Khan and his associates and pardoned them for the time being. The emperor asked Todar Mal and other imperial officers to give up the job of chastising the rebel Uzbegs and return. On the return of the army to the royal camp, the officers, found guilty of desertion, flight or inaction, were, according to Abu-l-Fazl, disgraced and debarred from saluting the emperor, while the sincere ones were honoured with special favours.[54] This means that Todar Mal, I'timad Khan, and others who had displyed loyalty and courage were rewarded. But Badayuni sounds a different note, saying that Mir Mu'izzu-l-mulk and Todar Mal were reprehended.[55] The Mir might have been censured due to his shameful flight from the battle field. But Abu-l-Fazl, the official historian and an unkind writer for Todar Mal, positively states that the sincere persons were rewarded and it is evident from his account that the Raja showed unquestioned loyalty. Nizamu-d-din also does not state that the loyal officers and men were rebuked. Moreover, Badayuni does not mention the reason of reprehending the Raja. In absence of any corroborating evidence it is very difficult to accept the version of Badayuni, the most hostile writer for Todar Mal.

It is evident from the above discussion that Todar Mal took part in the campaign against the Uzbeg rebellion from the start of the emperor's march in May, 1565. He was entrusted, along with Lashkar Khan, with the important task of deciding on war or peace with the rebel contingents led by Bahadur Khan and Iskandar Khan. But their decision in favour of war proved to be unwise and hasty. It is true that Bahadur Khan's attitude was not conciliatory and they were unaware of Khan Zaman's petition of pardon, yet they should have shown cautiousness as harmony and loyalty were lacking among the imperial army. One thing, of course, should be noticed that in face of mass disloyalty and

54. A. N. II. p 263.
55. M. T. II. p. 83.

desertion, Todar Mal demonstrated unswerving loyalty, courage and fighting spirit and along with Qiya Khan and a number of officers and men he had fought valiantly against all odds till the evening when they were forced to leave the battle-field.

V. Appointment as Joint Wazir

It has been shown that Todar Mal was appointed *diwan-i-khalsa* in A. D. 1562-63.[56] He continued to serve in this capacity in spite of his engagement in military operations. After serving as the *diwan* of *khalsa* lands for several years, Todar Mal was promoted to the post of *wazir*. In fact, he was made joint-*wazir* with Muzaffar Khan Turbati as the latter continued to hold the post up to the middle of November, 1572.[57] The reason behind the promotion of Todar Mal seems to be that as the emperor decided to make a major reform in revenue administration, he wanted to utilise the service of both the revenue experts-Muzaffar Khan Turbati and Todar Mal.

There is, however, some element of confusion regarding the exact date of Todar Mal's promotion. In narrating the events of the 11th year (11th March, 1566-10th March, 1567) of Akbar's reign, Abu-l-Fazl writes in the *Akbarnama* that early in that year Muzaffar Khan Turbati set aside the *"jama'-i-raqami qalmi"* (revenue demand recorded in kind) and established a new *jama'* on the basis of the *qanungos'* report on actual produce,[58] whereas in the *Ain-i-Akbari* he states that when in the 15th regnal year/ 1570-71 the office of *wazirship* fell upon Muzaffar Khan Turbati and Raja Todar Mal, they established a new *jama'* on the basis of the statistics supplied by the *qanungos* in place of the *"jama'-i-raqami"*.[59]

56. Vide Section II of this chapter.
57. A N. II. p. 368.
58. A. N. II p. 270.
59. Ain. I. p. 347.

Modern scholars hold that the two measures referred to in the *Akbarnama* and the *Ain-i-Akbari* are one and the same. But they hold different views regarding the date of its adoption. A critical study of the available sources will, however, tend to show that the reform was introduced in the 11th year when Todar Mal was appointed joint *wazir* with Muzaffar Khan Turbati.[60]

In Persian there is every possibility of making mistake in transcription between *yazdahum* and *panzdahum* by the copyist. But as in the *Akbarnama* Abu-l-Fazl has strictly maintained the chronology, there is hardly any possibility of copyist mentioning the event of the 15th regnal year in the 11th. Moreover, in narrating the siege of Ranthambhor in March, 1569 (in the beginning of the 14th regnal year/A. D. 1569- 70) Abu-l-Fazl writes in the *Akbarnama* : "For greater security Raja Todar Mal who had the control of *wazirship* was also employed on this service."[61] This indicates that

60. See Appendix-I.

61. A. N. II. pp. 336-37 ; Eng. Tr. p. 493.

Dr. A. L. Srivastava writes . "He (Todar Mal) is for the first time mentioned as a *wazir* in connection with the siege of Ranthambhor, in 1569". *Akbar the Great*. II. p. 58. It seems from this statement that during the siege of Ranthambhor in March, 1569, Todar Mal was appointed *wazir*. But it is evident from the above quoted statement of Abu-l-Fazl that the Raja was already serving as the *wazir* when in March, 1569 he was asked to take part in the siege of Ranthambhor.

Secondly it is not clear what Dr. Srivastava has exactly meant by the word *'wazir'* - an ordinary minister or the celebrated finance minister. In the same paragraph he writes : In September 1573 he (Todar Mal) was employed *diwan* of Gujarat, but not of the whole empire." Again, "After his return from Gujarat sometime in 1573 Raja Todar Mal was appointed full fledged finance minister." *Akbar the Great*. II. p. 58. It seems from these two statements of Dr. Srivastava that during the siege of Ranthambhor Todar Mal was an ordinary minister and not the *diwan* or the finance minister of the empire. Our contention is that by the word *wazirship* Abu-l-Fazl has meant the office of *diwan* or finance minister because he states that *wazir* also called *diwan*, "is the lieutenant of the emperor in financial

already in the 14th regnal year Todar Mal was serving as the *wazir* or finance minister. It is highly improbable that the copyist made a double mistake. On the other hand, there is every possibility of changing the 15th to the 11th in the text of the *Ain-i-Akbari*. This presumption is strengthened by Sir Richard Burn's observation (as recorded by Mr. Moreland) that one of the MSS of the *Ain-i-Akbari* (No. 215) preserved in Bodleian Library has the 11th (year) instead of the 15th.[62]

On the basis of this presumption we can state (i) that the *jama'-i-raqami qalmi* was abolished and replaced by a new *jama'* in A. D. 1566 (early in the 11th regnal year) and (ii) that in the same year Todar Mal was made joint *wazir* with Muzaffar Khan Turbati as the latter was holding the post since A. D. 1563.[63]

VI. Second Campaign Against the Uzbeg Rebels, 1567

Todar Mal, once again, accompanied Akbar when, on 6th May, 1567, the emperor marched against 'Ali Quli Khan who, for the third time, had raised the flag of rebellion "at the Qanauj ferry on the bank of the Ganges". Pursuing

matters, superintends the imperial treasuries and checks all accounts." Ain. I. Eng Tr. p. 6. This point was discussed with Dr. Srivastava.

62. A. S. M. I. p. 246n. The whole subject is elaborately discussed in Appendix-I.

63. The joint *wazirship* of Muzaffar Khan Turbati and Todar Mal is indirectly mentioned by Abu-l-Fazl in the *Akbarnama* also. Khwaja Shamsu-d-din, according to him, was appointed *diwan-i-kul* in August, 1594. A. N. III. p. 654. Again, in narrating the events of the 43rd regnal year / 1598-99 Abu-l-Fazl states : "On the 17th (*Khurdad* / 27th May, 1598) Rai Patr (Tapur) Das was made *diwan*. An order was given that as in the case of Muzaffar Khan and Raja Todar Mal, he and Khwaja Shamsu-d-din should help one another in carrying on the work." A. N. III. p. 741 ; Eng. Tr. p. 1108.

'Ali Quli the emperor reached Mohan[64] wherefrom on 2nd June Todar Mal, according to the order of the emperor, proceeded with Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas, Muzaffar Khan, Qiya Khan and others towards Awadh where Iskandar Khan rose in rebellion.[65] Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas was made the leader of the expedition. The emperor marched towards Karra-Manikpur in pursuit of 'Ali Quli Khan. The imperial contingent reached the city of Awadh on 14th June.[66] Before their arrival at Awadh Todar Mal received a letter from Rai Tipur Das reporting the defeat and slaying of 'Ali Quli Khan and his brother Bahadur Khan at the hands ot the army led by the emperor. But these two Uzbeg rebels had created such a panic and confusion in the minds of the people through revolts, plunders and devastations, that neither Todar Mal nor other officers and men gave much weight to the news as they thought it 'fabricated'. The imperial officers, therefore, besieged the fort of Awadh where Iskandar Khan had taken shelter on hearing the approach of the imperial army. Meanwhile, news of the defeat and killing of Khan Zaman and Bahadur Khan reached inside the fort of Awadh and began to spread among the people thereof. Finding himself in an awkward position, Iskandar Khan decided to get rid of the situation through trickery. On the one hand, he endeavoured hard to keep the news secret and on the other, twice sent peace proposals in order to prevent the imperial forces from attacking the fort. In his communications to the imperial officers viz., Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas, Todar Mal and Muzaffar Khan, he confessed his crime and expressed his desire of surrendering to the emperor through them. As the next day (15th June) was the day of *'Id Qurban*, the officers decided to meet him for peace talks on that day.[67]

64. Mohan is in Unao district, U. P. and 18 miles from Lucknow. It lies in 26° 47' N and 80° 41' E. D. G. Unao. p. 204.

65. A. N. II. p. 290 ; Eng. Tr. p. 427.

66. Ibid. p. 298.

67. Ibid. pp. 298-99.

On the night preceding *'Id Qurban* when the imperial army remained inactive and negligent on account of the forthcoming peace-talks, Iskandar came out of the fort-gate which faced the river and crossed it over. When in the morning his flight came to the notice of the imperial forces, they immediately took possession of the city and then endeavoured to pursue him. But there occurred a delay of two or three days as no boats were available. Meanwhile, Iskandar Khan, keeping his family in safety, renewed negotiations and requested Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas, Todar Mal and Muzaffar Khan to meet him and a few of his associates in a boat on the middle of the river. The imperial officers accepted the proposal. During the talks they promised to recommend Iskandar's petition for pardon and gave assurance of the safety of the life and property of the rebels. In the midst of negotiations one day Iskandar Khan went two stages down the river while it was raining and later on attributed this to the violence of the river. The officers perceiving his evil and deceitful trickery crossed the river and pursued him. When they reached Gorakhpur,[68] they came to know that Iskandar and his men had crossed the river very quickly with the help of a Uzbeg, Sulaiman Quli, who was in charge of the ferry under the Afghans, and fled away to the nearby Afghan kingdom. The imperial officers pursued them up to the borders of the Afghan kingdom as they had not the necessary instruction of entering the Afghan territory.[69] They then sent a report to the court relating the facts and solicited instructions for the future. The report reached the emperor on Saturday, the 18th July, 1567.[70] Akbar replied to the officers that as the wicked Uzbeg had gone out of the Mughal territory, there was no need of any further action.

68. A. N. II. pp. 298. 300.

69. It is difficult to ascertain from Abu-l-Fazl's account the point from where the Afghan kingdom begins as he does not specifically mention it.

70. A. N. II. pp. 298, 300.

They should now engage themselves in restoring normalcy of the distracted eastern province. Through a subsequent *farman* the emperor bestowed *sarkar* Awadh upon Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas and ordered Todar Mal, Muzaffar Khan and others to return to court. After Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas had taken charge of the government of *sarkar* Awadh, the officers returned to the court and paid homage to the emperor who in turn graced them with honour and reward.[71]

Todar Mal thus played an important role in the second campaign against the Uzbeg rebellion. But here he was merely an associate, not in overall charge of the campaign. Along with Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas, Muzaffar Khan and other officers and men he drove the Uzbeg rebels led by Iskandar Khan out of the Mughal territory and thus contributed to the successful suppression of the Uzbeg revolt.

71. A. N. II. p. 300.

CHAPTER III

Expeditions in Mewar and Ranthambhor

I. Mewar

Todar Mal took part in Akbar's expedition against Rana Uday Singh of Mewar and helped the emperor to capture the Rana's capital, Chitor.[1] Along with a number of important officers Akbar started his march against Mewar on 30th August, 1567.[2] According to Nizamu-d-din and Badayuni, Akbar wanted to fulfil his imperial ambition of conquering the whole of Hindusthan and making himself the sole overlord thereof.[3] Rana Uday Singh, unlike other Rajput princes, not only refused to accept Akbar as the sovereign but also gave shelter to Baz Bahadur, the defeated Sultan of Malwa, whom the imperial army was trying to capture.

In order to understand Todar Mal's role in the capture of the fort of Chitor, it is necessary to have a fair knowledge of the position and structure of the fort and the defence arrangements made by the Rajputs thereon.

The fort of Chitor was one of the most famous forts of India. It was, according to Nizamu-d-din, "distinguished above all other forts of India for its altitude and strength." The fort is situated on an isolated steep hill, lying almost exactly north and south and about 500 feet above the surrounding plain. The length of the fort is about 3½ miles and its greatest breadth is half a mile, and it covers an area of about 690 acres.[4] Its circumference at the base is about 8 miles. It is surrounded by a powerfully crenellated curtain

1. Headquarters of the district of the same name in the former princely state of Udaypur, Rajasthan, situated in 24° 53 'N and 74° 39' E. about 2 miles east of the Chitor railway station, I. G. X. p. 298
2. A. N. II. p. 301 ; Eng. Tr. P. 442.
3. T. A. II. pp. 214-15 , M. T. II. pp. 102-103
4. I. G. X. p. 298

wall and has three main gates—Suraj *Pol* on the east, Lakhuta *Bari* on the north and Ram *Pol* on the west. The main gates are approached by sinuous paths, checked by gates at interwals in their ascent. The main approach is on the western side. It is a steep serpentine road and starts from the city at the foot of the hill. This road is guarded by seven gates including Ram *Pol*. The masonry of the first gate is of large hewn stones. The battlements with wide openings at the feet of the arrow-loops have been built in smaller but well-coursed stone. The other gates between the first and Ram *Pol* are more or less of the same design. From the gateway to the curtain wall, cross-walls are built to prevent the enemy from bypassing the gateways by flank advance across the hill faces. The entire serpentine approach is commanded by the battlements of the curtain wall. "The precipitous path on the north is guarded by one gate at the head ; that on the east is guarded by four gates in succession. The gate at the head of the latter, called Suraj *Pol* or Sun Gate, was always regarded as an important post of defence in case of attack on the fortress and was assigned to one of the leaders of the defence. At the south end of the fortress there is a small hole in the wall through which criminals and traitors were thrust to be dashed to pieces at the foot of the precipice hundreds of feet below."[5]

It is thus clear that the position and physical structure of the fort constituted a stumbling block to any aggressor. The only facility that could be availed of by any invader was a hillock lying at a short distance east of the fort.[6] The Rana strengthened the defence arrangements of the fort and supplied it with provisions for several years. He also kept 8000 soldiers under the leadership of Jaimal[7] to

5. The description of the fort is mainly based on Sidney Toy's *The Strongholds of India*. pp. 84-86. Also see *Rajputana Gazetteer* (1908). pp. 101-104.

6. A. N. II. p. 319.

7. Jaimal belonged to Bednore, one of the 16 superior vassals of Mewar. His and Patta's undaunted spirit and valiant deeds for the

defend the fort from the Mughal onslaught and devastated the adjoining territories so that there did not remain a grass in the field and himself retired to the defiles of a distant hill.[8]

Akbar reached the outskirts of the fort of Chitor on 20th October, 1567 and besieged it next day. It took the Mughal army one month to encompass it with batteries.[9] In order to overcome the physical barrier and impair the defence arrangements of the fort, the emperor ordered that weak spots should be traced where the mines could be placed to destroy the walls and bastions of the fort.

Three principal batteries were installed at three important places. The emperor's special battery, which was in charge of Hasan Khan Chaghtai, Rai Tipur Das and others, was placed opposite to the Lakhuta gate of the fort on the north. From this position mines were put into action. The second battery, which took position before Suraj *Pol* on the east, was under the command of Shuja'at Khan,[10] Todar Mal and Qasim Khan.[11] It seems that Todar Mal was one of the leading generals of the second of the three important batteries. The third battery, which was placed at the Chittori hill opposite to Ram *Pol* on the west, was under the supervision of Khwaja 'Abdul

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defence of the fort of Chitor were immortalised by Akbar who erected their statues in front of his palace at Agra. Tod. I. pp.347-49.

8. A. N. II. pp. 314, 322; T. A II. p 216; M T. II. p. 102 Abu-l-Fazl, at first, states that there were 5000 soldiers inside the fort but at the time of capture of the fort he states that there were 8000 soldiers. As Nizamu-d- din, who was an eye-witness of the siege and capture of the fort of Chitor, states that there were 7 to 8 thousand soldiers, we have accepted the above mentioned figure.

9. A N. II. p. 314; Eng. Tr. p. 464.

10. Shuja'at Khan was in the service of Humayun. During Akbar's reign he was given the rank of 3000. He died in 1580. M. U. II. pp. 559-60.

11. Qasim Khan also served under Humayun. Akbar granted him the rank of 3000. He was the supervisor of the construction of the fort of Agra. He was murdered in 1000 H/1593-94. M. U. III. pp. 62-66.

Majid Asaf Khan[12] and Wazir Khan[13] and several other noted officers. A large mortar capable of throwing a ball of half a *maund* was also put into action.[14]

Moreover, the second battery was entrusted to construct a *sabat* of the length of a bow-shot. Todar Mal and Qasim Khan were appointed supervisors of the construction. A *sabat* was a trench or approach or covered way under cover of which attacks could be made upon the well-guarded fort. It was constructed in this way. A trench, deep and wide enough to conceal the worker, was dug from a distance of musket-shot or bow-shot and to increase the protection, walls were constructed on each side with the excavated earth. Under the shelter of planks and baskets which were held together by skins, the trench or zig zags were carried close to the walls of the fort to be attacked. Then the matchlockmen and the mine diggers would move in safety through the wide way between those walls to the foot of the fort and there they would dig a mine and fill it with gunpowder. When the wall of the fort would be pierced by the blast, the rest of the army would reach the spot by way of the *sabat* and effect an entry into the fort.[15]

Todar Mal and Qasim Khan do not seem to have possessed any previous experience of constructing a *sabat*. Nevertheless credit must be given to them for putting a body of five thousand carpenters, stone-cutters, blacksmiths, excavators, earthworkers and shovelmen to work to

12. 'Abdul Majid was one of the servants of Humayun. Akbar gave him the title of Asaf Khan and granted him the *mansab* of 3000. M. U. I. pp. 77-83.

13. Wazir Khan [illegible] brother of Abdul Majid. Under Akbar he had attained the rank of 5000. He died in 1587. M. U. III. pp. 929-32.

14. A. N. II. p. 316.

15. A. N. II. p. 316 ; T. A. II. pp. 216-17 ; M. T. II. p. 103 ; Ferishta. II. p. 257. Also see Irvine's *The Army of the Indian Mughals*. pp. 274-77.

construct the *sabat.*[16] As soon as the construction of the *sabat* came to the notice of the Rajputs, they realised the danger and applied all means to destroy it at the beginning. But the men under Todar Mal and Qasim Khan remained undaunted and defying all shots, injury and death that were taking place, they worked hard at building the *sabat* in the incessant rain under the able guidance of these two officers. "Day by day the *sabat* was pushed forward and the mines advanced. The coin of presents was poured into the lap of workmen's hopes and silver and gold were reckoned at the rate of earth."[17] Gradually they built up on two sides "a broad mud wall such that balls could not penetrate it, and it was sinuous in shape".[18] With the progress of the construction of the *sabat*, the mines were also pushed forward and the Mughal army waged war under cover of the *sabat* which was steadily moving towards completion. Akbar frequently visited the *sabat* and his presence encouraged the workers and engineers engaged in the construction. After the hard, strenuous and determined labour of about two months, the workmen accomplished the coveted task of constructing the *sabat* under the expert supervision of Todar Mal and Qasim Khan.[19] "The width of the *sabat,*" according to Nizamu-d-din, was such "that ten horsemen could ride abreast inside it and it was so high that a man mounted on an elephant with a spear in his hand could pass inside it."[20] Excellent quarters, according to Abu-l-Fazl, were also built on the top of the roof which covered the two walls of the

16. T. A. II. pp. 216-17 ; Ferishta states that five hundred persons were applied. But as Nizamu-d-din was present during the expedition we have accepted his figure.

17. A. N. II. p. 316 . Eng. Tr. p. 468

18. Ibid.

19. A. N. II. p. 319.

20. T A. II. p. 317 ; Eng Tr. p. 344 . M. T. II. p. 103 . Eng. Tr p. 106.

sabat. Akbar himself stayed there for two nights and one day and directed the operations.[21]

The completion of the *sabat* paved the way of capturing the fort of Chitor. Under its cover the Mughal army especially the artillery made heavy assaults upon the wall and bastions of the fort and as a result most of the walls and defensive barriers were broken down. Of course, the garrison inside the fort put up stiff resistance under the brilliant command of Jaimal and took a heavy toll of the Mughal army. But all the gallant and daring efforts of the Rajput force were of no avail against such a formidable enemy, superior in arms, men, money and other resources. Despairing of success in such a critical situation, the Rajput army came out of the fort on 23rd February, 1568 and fought a desperate fight against the advancing Mughal army. Most of the Rajput soldiers and generals were killed in action. Thus after the strenuous siege of four months and such a bitter and bloody battle, Akbar captured the formidable fort of Chitor.[22]

Thus Todar Mal, as one of the two supervisors of the construction of the *sabat*, performed a most essential job and so greatly contributed to the capture of the fort of Chitor.

II. Ranthambhor

Several months after the Mewar campaign, Todar Mal accompanied Akbar in his expedition against Surjan Hara, the ruler of Ranthambhor. The march against Ranthambhor started on 21st December, 1568.[23] In this expedition Todar Mal played an almost identical role as in Mewar expedition. Abu-l-Fazl writes: "As after consideration

21. A. N. II. p. 319.

22. A. N. II. pp. 320-23.

23. A. N. II. p. 334 ; Eng. Tr. p. 489. Surjan Hara rendered good services under Akbar and was given the rank of 2000. M. U. II. pp. 113-16.

it appeared certain that the enterprise was impossible without the application of *sabats* which are the demolishers of the stiff-necked, an order was given to Qasim Khan, *mir barr-i-bahr* (Admiral General) to prepare one. For greater security Raja Todar Mal, who had the control of the *wazirship*, was also employed on this service."[24]

Thus, according to Abu-l-Fazl, Akbar, once again, employed Qasim Khan and Todar Mal to supervise the construction of the *sabat* under cover of which he would assault and capture the fort of Ranthambhor. Defying all obstacles put forth by the Rajputs, Todar Mal and Qasim Khan ably guided their men and completed the construction of the *sobat* here as at Chitor. Another interesting thing to be noted in this connection is that, as Abu-l-Fazl states, Todar Mal had the control of *wazirship* at that time, it seems that the Raja had been appointed *wazir* of the empire before 21st December, 1568, when the expedition of Ranthambhor began.[25]

After the successful completion of this campaign Todar Mal, probably, returned to the capital with the imperial army on 11th May, 1569.[26]

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24. A. N. II. pp. 336-37 ; Eng. Tr. p. 494.
25. This point has been discussed in Section V, Chapter II.
26. A. N II. p. 340 ; Eng. Tr. p. 497.

CHAPTER IV

ACTIVITIES IN GUJARAT

I. Becomes Wazir-i-Ala

In July, 1572 Akbar launched his first Gujarat expedition which lasted till 1573.[1] After capturing several important cities including Ahmadabad, the capital, the emperor encamped at Baroda in December, 1572.[2] From there he deputed Todar Mal to make a preliminary report about the feasibility of conquering Surat.[3]

This is the first mention of Todar Mal in course of Akbar's Gujarat campaign by the contemporary authorities. As Todar Mal was sent from the imperial camp at Baroda and as it is not mentioned that he joined the imperial army in the middle of the campaign, it can safely be assumed that he accompanied the emperor from the very beginning of the campaign.

Meanwhile, an important event occurred. The Raja had been working as joint-*wazir* with Muzaffar Khan Turbati since 1566. But by the middle of November, 1572, Muzaffar Khan Turbati was dismissed and exiled to Mecca, because one day while playing Chaupar[4] in which he was losing heavily, he lost temper and showed disrespect to the emperor.[5] The contemporary sources do not mention the person who replaced him.[6] It may, therefore, be held that

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1. A. N. II. p. 370 ; III. pp. 33 39 ; Eng. Tr. pp. 48, 55.
2. A. N. III. p. 16 ; Eng. Tr. p. 22 ; T. A. II. p. 244 , M. T. II. p. 143 M. A. Q. p. 163 , Ferishta. I. p. 260
3. A. N. III. p. 17 ; Eng. Tr. p. 24 . T. A. II. p. 246 ; M. T. II. p. 144.
4. For particulars regarding the game of Chaupar see Ain. I. pp. 218-19 ; Eng. Tr. I. p. 315.
5. A. N. II. p. 510.
6. Dr. A. L. Srivastava writes : "It seems probable that Shihab-ud-din Ahmad Khan officiated, after Muzaffar Khan's dismissal, as *diwan-i-kul*. This presumption is strengthened by the fact that he

after Muzaffar Khan's dismissal in the middle of November, 1572, Todar Mal became the *wazir-i-ala* or the sole *wazir* of the empire.[7] The Raja appears to have also become the emperor's chief assistant in administration as no one was then holding the post of *vakil.*

II. Surat

At Baroda Akbar decided to conquer Surat,[8] the rich and prosperous port at the mouth of the Tapti and near the Arabian Sea. It has already been stated in the previous section that he had selected Raja Todar Mal for making a preliminary reconnaissance and submitting a report. Akbar's choice was preeminently right, as Abu-l-Fazl says, "Raja Todar Mal who was distinguished for foresight and mental activity, was directed to go and examine the methods

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was left in charge of capital in 1573 during Akbar's absence on an expedition to Malwa, and in this connection he was described by Abu-l-Fazl as *vakil* of *khalisa.*" *Akbar the Great.* II. p. 58. But we find no reference of "an expedition to Malwa" in 1573 in any of the sources. Even Dr. Srivastava himself does not mention this incident in the events of 1573 in his *Akbar the Great.* I. The Malwa expedition was undertaken by Akbar in 1561. A. N. II. pp. 139-43; T. A. II. pp. 152-53; M. T. II. p. 48. Again, Shihabu d-din Ahmad Khan was left in the capital when in June, 1574, Akbar started for an expedition to the eastern provinces and in this connection Abu-l-Fazl has described Shihabu-d-din Ahmad Khan as the *vakil* of *diwan-i-khalsa.* A. N. III. p. 87; Eng. Tr. p. 122.

7. Dr. A. L. Srivastava writes: "After his return from Gujarat sometime in 1573 Raja Todar Mal was appointed a full-fledged finance minister." *Akbar the Great.* II. p. 58. But in the light of the above discussion it is difficult to accept Dr. Srivastava's view. Both these points were discussed with Dr. Srivastava.

8. Surat is the headquarters of the district of the same name in Gujarat and situated in 21° 12' N and 72° 50' E. Its distance from the Arabian Sea is 14 miles by water and 10 miles by land. The fort lies on a bend of the Tapti where the river suddenly sweeps westward towards its mouth. I. G. XXIII. pp. 164-65.

of ingress and egress of the fort, and to submit a report as to how it could best be taken."[9]

Surat was a small but a very strong fort. It is believed to have been built in the sixteenth century by Safar Aga who became the *wazir* of Gujarat under Muhammad III and obtained the title of *Khudawand.* In order to quell the disturbances caused by the Portuguese, he built this fort on the southern bank of the river Tapti in 1540. The expert engineers, appointed by Khudawand Khan, planned and constructed the fort in such a way that it became very difficult for any one to conquer it. They, at first, laid the foundation of one side into the river, dug a deep ditch twenty yards in width on the two sides which faced the land and built the walls with stone and burnt bricks. The four walls were 5 yards wide and 20 yards high. To make the walls very strong, the builders fastened the stones with iron-clamps and poured molten lead into the joints and interstices. The turrets and embrasures were lofty and so beautiful that the spectators were astonished at beholding them. On each bastion, which projected into the river, was erected a gallery and these galleries were the bulwarks of defence against the Portuguese raids.[10]

Akbar, therefore, ordered Todar Mal, who had already gained distinction for his foresight and intelligence, to go to Surat in advance and examine the ins and outs of the fort and thereby find out the easiest way of capturing it. Perhaps, Todar Mal's practical knowledge about the construction of a fort and siege-warfare prompted Akbar to entrust him with this difficult task. It should be borne in mind that he was the superintendent of the construction of the fort of Rohtas built by Sher Shah in the Jhelum district

9. A. N. III. p. 17 ; Eng. Tr. p. 24 , Also T. A. II. p. 246 . M. T. II. p. 144.

10. T. A. II. pp. 241-42 ; M. T. II. pp. 143, 146-47 ; Elliot. V. pp. 347, 501-503.

of Punjab in 1541[11] and that he took active part in capturing the forts of Chitor and Ranthambhor.[12]

Accordingly Todar Mal went from the imperial camp at Baroda to Surat and made inquiries about the position, structure and defence arrangements of the fort. He returned to the imperial camp after seven days and reported that "the capture of the fort could be very easily effected."[13]

It is rather unfortunate that we are left completely in the dark about the exact nature of Todar Mal's work in this context as there is no reference in the contemporary accounts. The Raja's report, as given by Abu-l-Fazl, the only writer who could have given a full account, also is very cryptic. Thus the reader is left to guess the reason of Abu-l-Fazl's silence.

Now the question is : why did such an intelligent and good general, experienced in siege.warfare, like Todar Mal report so lightly about the fort of Surat which, according to the contemporary authorities, was then a very strong fort and was very difficult to capture. The answer is somewhat provided by Abu-l-Fazl. He writes : "It was from looking to the majestic fortune of the *Shahinshah* that the Raja represented this difficult task as an easy one. If he had had regard to ordinary considerations he never would have ventured on such a bold statement. But at a time when so extensive a country had come into possession, and the sovereign had come a long way from his capital, and had for some months been behind the shields of the army, and when the seditions were everywhere lifting up their heads, both those of Gujarat and those of the eastern provinces, how could it be right so great a lord should personally undertake the reduction of a fort ?"[14]

Thus, according to Abu-l-Fazl, Todar Mal reported the difficult task of capturing the strong fort of Surat as easy

11. Vide Chapter I, Section IV.
12. Vide Chapter III
13. A. N. III. p. 17 ; Eng. Tr p. 24 . T. A. II. p 246 ; M. T. II. p. 144.
14. A. N. III. p. 17 ; Eng. Tr. pp. 24-25.

one in order to relieve the emperor, who was engaged in so many important matters concerning the state, from agony and prevent him from going to Surat and conducting the operation personally. It is evident from Abu-l-Fazl's account that the emperor accepted Todar Mal's reasoning. Nevertheless, Akbar decided to personally lead the campaign because he thought that without his physical presence there might be some delay on the part of the imperial officers in accomplishing the task and that the root of the resistance would not be completely destroyed.[15]

Accordingly Akbar marched towards Surat on 31st December, 1572, reached its neighbourhood on 11th January, 1573 and captured the fort on February 26, 1573. The emperor returned to the capital on 3rd June, 1573.[16] The contemporary authors are silent about Todar Mal's activities during this period.

The above account thus reveals that Todar Mal did not play a significant role during the one year of Akbar's first Gujarat expedition. Nevertheless, it has to be noted that the emperor selected him and him alone for the investigation about the feasibility of conquering the fort of Surat. We can assume that he performed this important task ably, for Akbar was able to conquer it without much difficulty.

III. Settlement in Gujarat

After the return of the imperial army from Gujarat to the capital in June, 1573, the Raja was despatched to the eastern provinces to enquire and report on the state of the imperial army under Mun'im Khan deputed against the Afghans. Having performed this task within a short time, he returned to the capital where he became engaged in regular administrative works.[17] During Akbar's second

15. A. N. III. p. 17 ; Eng. Tr. pp. 24, 25.

16. A. N. III. pp. 18, 29, 39 , Eng. Tr. pp. 25, 40, 55 , T. A. II. pp. 246, 248 , M. T. II. pp, 144-45 ; M. A. Q. pp. 163, 168

17. A. N. III. pp. 40-41 ; Abu-l-Fazl does not specify the term. For details see Section I, Chapter V.

Gujarat campaign (August-September, 1573) he was left in charge of the princes and the capital together with Raja Bihari Mal, Shaikh Ibrahim, Hakimu-l-mulk, Shaikh Ahmad and many other officers.[18] He was also entrusted with the task of supplying one thousand boats and corvettee to the imperial army engaged in Gujarat expedition.[19] At the conclusion of the campaign and during his return journey from Gujarat to the imperial capital, the emperor halted at the village of Huba, 6 miles from Sanganir[20] and in the *jagir* of Ramdas Kachhwaha. Here, at the end of September, Todar Mal, in response to the imperial summons, hurriedly paid homage to the latter. The Raja was ordered to proceed to Gujarat where the revenue system was in confusion and had practically broken down completely owing to the political disturbances preceding the extinction of the kingdom.[21]

Todar Mal was asked to make a just settlement of land revenue of Gujarat so that there might be a regular and good supply of revenue to the imperial treasury and at the same time the peasantry might be relieved of any torture and extortion. He immediately went to Gujarat and assiduously worked for about six weeks. It was highly creditable on his part to have evolved some sort of an order in such a short period. He made an extensive survey of a vast portion of the land of the province and assessed the revenue on its basis. The Gujarat Settlement served as a basis for revenue reorganisation in the whole empire in future. He returned to the capital in the middle of November and was highly praised and honoured for his successful performance.[22]

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18. A. N. III. p. 43.

19. T A. II. pp. 274-75, M. T. II. p 170. We find no reference about actual supply.

20. Sanganir is in Jaipur, Rajasthan.

21. A. N. III. p. 65, T. A. II. p. 275 ; M. T. II. p. 170.

22. A. N. III. pp. 65, 67 T. A. II. pp 275, 277, M. T. II. pp 170-71. Details of Todar Mal's settlement in Gujarat are given in 'C', Section 'I', Chapter XI.

While the Raja was returning from Gujarat, Rana Pratap, as stated by Abu-l-Fazl, had met him and "displayed flattery and submissiveness".[23] But it seems from Abu-l-Fazl's mode of expression that it was just a courtesy visit of the Rana who behaved very humbly towards him. It also reveals that there existed cordial relations between them in spite of their belonging to opposite camps.

23. A. N. III. p. 67 ; Eng. Tr. p. 93.

CHAPTER V

CAMPAIGNS IN BIHAR AND BENGAL

I. The First Campaign

At the end of the year 1573,[1] after returning from Gujarat and Mewar, Todar Mal had to proceed towards Bihar and Bengal. To understand the reasons of his deputation, it is necessary to review the situation there. Sulaiman Karrani, the Afghan ruler of Bihar, Bengal and Orissa, had wisely acknowledged Mughal suzerainty. Shrewdly avoiding conflict with the Mughal emperor he ruled his kingdom practically independently. Sulaiman died in October, 1572.[2] His two sons and successors, Bayazid and Daud Khan, did not acknowledge Akbar's suzerainty, and read the *Khutba*.[3] The latter even minted coins in his own name[4] and made aggression against the Mughal territory.[5]

Akbar had received the news of Sulaiman's death on his way to the first Gujarat campaign and had ordered Mun'im Khan the Khan Khanan, the Mughal governor of Jaunpur, to proceed towards the kingdom of deceased Sulaiman Karrani and accomplish its conquest. Accordingly Mun'im Khan proceeded towards Bihar.[6]

But even after his return from Gujarat, Akbar found that no progress had been made in accomplishing the conquest of the Afghan kingdom of Bihar, Bengal and

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1. Todar Mal returned to the capital from Gujarat in the middle of November, 1573. A few days after, he was sent to the eastern region of the empire. A. N. III. pp. 66, 67, 71.
2. A. N. III. Eng. Tr. p. 5. note 2 ; M. T. II. p. 173.
3. A. N. III. p. 281 . M. T. II. p. 173.
4. *Riyaz-us-Salatin* pp. 150-54.
5. A. N. III. pp. 21. 22 ; T. A. II. p. 281.
6. A. N. III. p. 4 ; T. A. II. pp. 281-82 , M. T. II. p. 174.

Orissa. He, therefore, sent Khan 'Alam, Ashraf Khan,[7] M'uinu-d-din Ahmad Khan,[8] Qasim 'Ali[9] and a number of officers towards the eastern provinces. He also urged the indolent Mun'im Khan, who had done little during the last one year, to engage himself in conquering the Afghan kingdom more seriously and sincerely than before. At the same time, Todar Mal was also sent along with others but he was entrusted with a special mission. This shows that the emperor placed greater reliance on the Raja than on any other member of the expedition. He was particularly exhorted to impress the urgency of the task upon the Khan Khanan. What is more significant is that he was also directed to enquire and report about the numerical strength, the degree of harmony and the capability of the Mughal army in eastern India to wage war. Otherwise, the emperor himself would proceed towards the eastern countries. Accordingly Todar Mal immediately went there. After a rapid enquiry into the affairs of the camp, he returned and reported that there was enough number of troops and that officers were in harmony and had sincere intentions to carry out the emperor's orders and fulfil his wishes. This put Akbar's mind to rest.[10]

But no important victory had been achieved by the Mughals since then. The emperor, therefore, immediately after his return from the second Gujarat expedition in October, 1573, sent a fleet under the supervision of Lashkar Khan *mir bakhshi* and Paramanand, a relative of Todar Mal, who was the superintendent of the Mughal navy, to

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7. Ashraf Khan served under Humayun. He attained the rank of 2000 under Akbar and died in 1575. Blochmann. pp. 423-24.

8. M'uinu-d-din also served under Humayun. He was a *mansabdar* of 1000 and died in 1575. M. U. II. pp. 216-17 ; Blochmann. p. 480.

9. Qasim 'Ali attained the *mansab* of 700 under Akbar. He died in 35th regnal year/1591-92 of Akbar. M. U. III. pp. 59-61 ; Blochmann. p. 518.

10. A. N. III. pp. 41-42.

strengthen the Mughal forces under Mun'im Khan. He also sent urgent instructions to the generals and *jagirdars* of the eastern region of the empire to work unitedly and not to deviate from the Khan Khanan's order.[11]

Meanwhile, in the Afghan camp Ludi Khan, the most efficient Afghan leader and general, parted company with Daud Khan and took a belligerent stand. He had helped Daud to ascend the throne of Bihar, Bengal and Orissa. But Daud was a foolish and arrogant youngman and also jealous of any talented person. Being afraid of Ludi's growing influence and popularity, he had Ludi's betrothed son-in-law murdered. This infuriated Ludi, who, giving up his campaign against the Mughals, began to proceed against Daud. The latter was, however, successful in winning over most of the Afghan men and officers. Ludi, feeling unsafe, took shelter inside the fort of Rohtas and sought the help of Mun'im Khan.[12]

Even then the Mughals failed to act vigorously and exploit the dissensions among the Afghans in their favour. The veteran Mughal general only sent a detachment to Ludi's aid, but did not proceed to take advantage of the rift in the Afghan camp. This inactive attitude of the Mughal general, once again, prompted Akbar to send Todar Mal, who had already distinguished himself for trustworthiness, reliability and foresight, towards Bihar and Bengal. His task was to inspire and mobilise the men and officers of the Mughal army. He was directed to discipline those who were weak-spirited or mercenary in nature and those who considered service without pay and exertion without wages as loss and wanted prompt reward, in such a way that they would regard him as an observer and dare not indulge in sloth and idleness. He was also expected to make them feel as if the emperor was present

11. A. N. III. p. 70.
12. Ibid. pp. 70, 71.

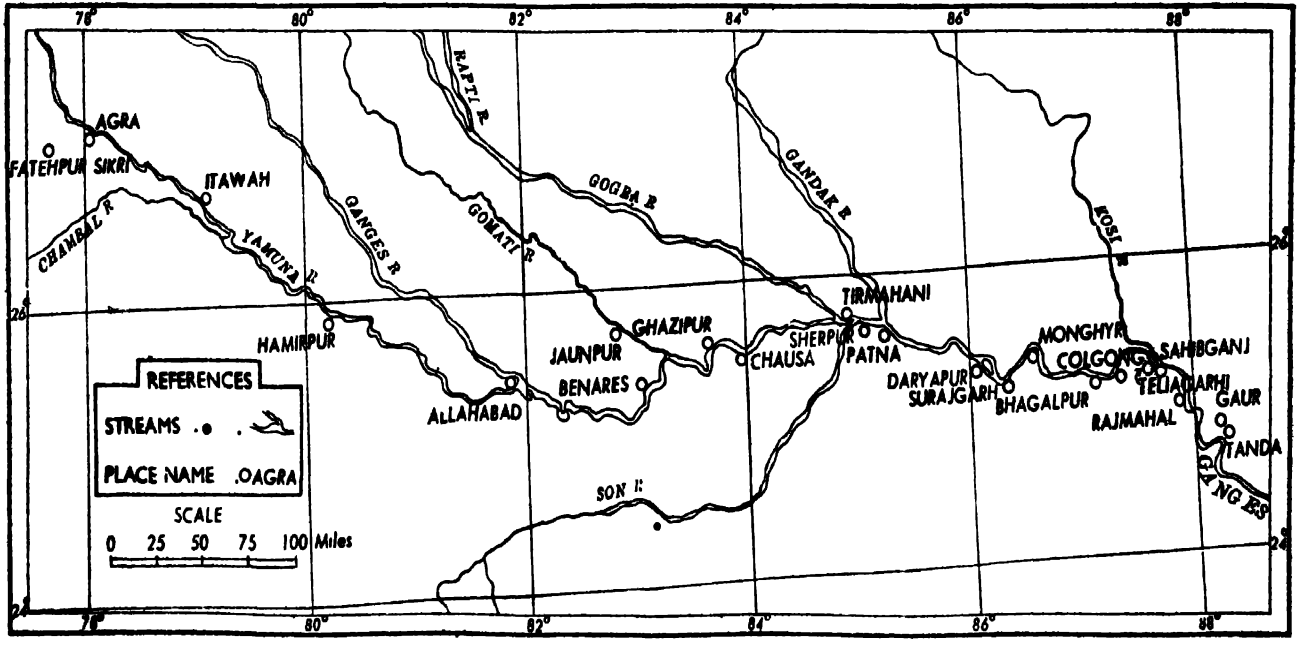
there in person and compel them to fulfil their duties promptly and perfectly like loyal servants.[13]

Todar Mal immediately left the capital and met Mun'im Khan at Tirmohini[14] at the junction of the Ganges and the Saru or Gogra near Chapra and promptly engaged himself in work. Within a few days Todar Mal was able to mobilise a large army and the command was distributed as follows: The Van was led by Khan 'Alam, Mirza 'Ali and others; Majnun Khan Qaqshal, Baba Khan[15] and others had charge of the Right Wing, the Centre was under the Khan Khanan and the Left Wing was headed by Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas, Qiya Khan, Ashraf Khan and others.[16] When the mobilisation was completed, Lashkar Khan and some other officers crossed the Ganges and fell upon the Afghans stationed in a newly constructed fort. The mobilisation and the crossing of the river were effected so quickly that the Afghans were taken by surprise and fled away. This was possible due to the energetic and inspiring initiative of Todar Mal who had ignored everything but the execution of his master's order and thereby obtained a definite result. Just at this moment an alarming news was received, namely, the volte face of Ludi Khan.[17]

To understand this sudden development, it is necessary to look backwards. Realising the danger of the collusion between Ludi and Mun'im Khan, Daud effected a reconciliation with Ludi. Deserting the Mughals, Ludi even came to a clash with them on the banks of the river Sone. This put the imperialists in a difficult position. The situation, however, changed soon. Just then Daud

13. A. N III. p. 71.
14. Ibid. See Map I.
15. Baba Khan distinguished himself against Khan Zaman. He rebelled in 1581 and assumed the title of Khan Khanan and died in the same year. Blochmann. p. 399.
16. A. N. III. p. 71.
17. Ibid.

Map to Illustrate Bihar Campaigns



made a great blunder by murdering Ludi upon the complaints and provocations of Qatlu Lohani and Srihari Vikramaditya, his two favourite friends and advisers.[18] The death of such a formidable foe produced jubilation in the Mughal camp and confusion and frustration among the Afghans. It removed a stumbling block from the path of the Mughal forces. As for the Afghans, foolishness, jealousy and internal enmity made their resistance against the Mughal onslaught useless. Daud soon realised that he had made a great blunder in slaying Ludi, who, by his good management and wisdom and his keen intellect, had kept the territory of Bengal free from disturbance.[19] He now became very much depressed and alarmed and reached Patna by successive marches. He fortified himself inside the city fort.

But as in the past, the Mughal generals failed to exploit this favourable situation. As Abu-l-Fazl comments: "The killing of Ludi had produced such a dissension among the enemy that if the imperial commanders had shown energy and resolution, the work would have been finished quickly and easily."[20] Instead of a vigorous pursuit, the main body of the Mughal army led by Mun'im Khan proceeded slowly towards Patna. A small detachment, headed by Todar Mal, Lashkar Khan and I'timad Khan, the eunuch, went in advance, selected a suitable place, where a strong fort and a deep moat were built within a short time In this over-cautious and vigilant fashion, the imperial troops reached the neighbourhood of Patna and besieged the city fort where Daud had entrenched by way of a defensive move.

The siege dragged on inconclusively for several months in spite of the reinforcements sent by Akbar.[21] Meanwhile,

18. T. A. II. pp. 182-83 ; M. T. II. pp. 74-75.
19. T. A. II. p. 283.
20. A. N. III. p. 73 ; Eng. Tr. p. 100.
21. The emperor sent a detachment under the command of Ram Das Kachhwaha in March 1574. Ram Das along with Kishan Singh

the disturbing rainy season of the eastern provinces was approaching. Mun'im Khan, therefore, solicited the emperor's personal presence which would infuse encouragement to the besiegers and strike terror among the defenders. Akbar, who had become free after the successful completion of the Gujarat expedition and was eager to conquer the eastern regions of India, readily accepted Mun'im Khan's proposal. He started from Agra for Patna on 20th June, 1574.[22] In this expedition against Daud Khan, Akbar was accompanied by such important officers like Raja Bhagwant Das, Raja Man Singh, Zain Khan Koka, Shahbaz Khan and others. On reaching Chausa,[23] the emperor received on 27th July, 1574 the report of a new success scored by Todar Mal. 'Isa Khan Niazi, a distinguished Afghan soldier, had attacked the entrenchment of the Mughal officer Qiya Khan with a band of Afghan warriors. It was a stiff fight and the victory was anybody's game. Just at this moment, Todar Mal arrived with his men and foiled the enemy's attack and 'Isa Khan was ultimately killed in action. On 3rd August, 1574, Todar Mal went to Sherpur, about 12 miles north-west of Patna, and paid homage to the emperor who was encamping there. Giving a report about the state of affairs, the Raja sought the emperor's permission whether Mun'im Khan could come to welcome him and,

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Panwar and Kunwar Ramapat Ujjainiya reached Patna on 11th May, 1574. R K. V. f. 10.

22. A. N. III. p. 87, T. A. II. p. 284. The 29th *Safar*, 982 H corresponds to the 20th June, 1574. L. S. D. Pillai, *Indian Emphemeris* (1922). V. p. 350. The date 28th *Rabi-ul-Awwal*. 982 H/15th July, 1574, mentioned by S. A. seems to be wrong as it does not tally with A. N. and T. A. Moreover, it is not possible for Akbar to reach Patna on 16th *Rabi-ul-Akhir*/5th August, 1574 i. e., on the 19th day along with his imperial retinues.

23. Chausa is a village in the Buxar sub-division of Sahabad district, Bihar and situated in 25° 31' N and 85° 54' E, on the east bank of the Karmanasa river. It is 4 miles west of Buxar city. D. G. Sahabad (1906). pp. 136-37.

if so, where. The emperor ordered that as the siege was on, the Khan Khanan should not come more than four miles and that all the officers and soldiers should remain at their respective posts in the entrenchment. On the same day Todar Mal was honoured with favours and took leave.[24]

On reaching Patna on 5th August, 1574, Akbar at once surveyed the siege operations of the fort and issued order for tightening it.[25] The emperor captured the fort of Patna on the 11th August on receiving the news of the flight of Daud Khan and his Afghan army. On the same day Akbar reached Daryapur,[26] about 50 miles from Patna, in pursuit of the fleeing Afghans. From the silence of the sources regarding Todar Mal's activities, it seems that the Raja did not then play any important role.

The emperor remained at Daryapur for six days and held conferences with his officers including Todar Mal in order to determine the future course of action. It was decided that the completion of the conquest of the eastern regions must not be delayed and that the march against Daud Khan had to be continued. Mun'im Khan was entrusted with the task and a well-equipped army of 20,000 men and all the boats and siege materials that were brought from Agra were placed at his disposal. To facilitate his

24. A. N. III. pp. 93, 95.

25. M. A. Q. p. 121 ; T. A. II. p. 290 ; M. T. II. p. 174 ; Ilahdad. f. 99 ; S. A. f. 2 ; R. K. V. f. 10. S. A. also states that the emperor surveyed and ordered to tighten the siege of the fort on the same day. But Abu-l-Fazl states that Akbar came near Patna on 15th *Rabi-ul-Akhir*, 982 H/4th August, 1574, and surveyed the fort of Patna on the next day i. e., 5th August, 1574. A. N. III. pp. 95, 96. It seems improbable that Akbar would make any delay in surveying the siege of the fort of Patna. As all the contemporary authors except Abu-l-Fazl are in agreement, we have accepted 5th August, 1574 as the date of Akbar's arrival at Patna.

26. Daryapur is 2 miles south of Mokamah. D. G. Patna. (1907) p. 26. Also see *John Marshall in India* (1668-72); edited by Shafat Ahmad Khan, pp. 76-79.

work, Bihar was given to him as his *jagir* i. e., he became the governor of the province. Jaunpur, his previous *jagir*, was converted into crown (*khalsa*) land[27] and Mirza Mirak Razavi[28] was made its *wazir*. Todar Mal was asked to assist the Khan Khanan in his mission. He too received great favours and was honoured for his capacity and trustworthiness with a standard and drum.[29] He was also appointed *diwan* of Bihar and Ram Das Kachhwaha was made its *naib* (deputy) *diwan*.[30] All the other officers and men were also favoured with *jagirs* and increased rank.

On 14th August Mun'im Khan along with Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas, Majnun Khan Qaqshal, Qiya Khan, Khan 'Alam, Shaham Khan, Baqi Khan, Raja Todar Mal, Lashkar Khan, Ram Das Kachhwaha and others proceeded towards Bengal. On the way the Mughal army captured one place after another. Surajgarh,[31] Monghyr,[32] Bhagalpur,[33] Kahalgaon[34] and Teliagarhi,[35] considered

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27. A. N. III. p. 103 ; S. A. f. 2.

28. Mirza Mirak was given the title of *Razavi Khan* in the 12th regnal year (1567-68) of Akbar. In the 24th regnal year (1579-80) he was appointed *bakhshi* of Bengal. M. U. III. pp. 218, 219.

29. A. N. III. p. 103.

30. S. A. f. 2 ; R. K. V. f. II ; It seems that Todar Mal was made *diwan* of Bihar on a temporary basis because already in November, 1572 he became the *diwan* of the whole empire. Vide Section I, Chapter IV.

31. Surajgarh is a village in Monghyr subdivision of Monghyr district in Bihar. It lies on the southern bank of the Ganges, about 25 miles from Monghyr. D. G. Monghyr (1909) p. 252. See Map I.

32. Monghyr is the headquarters of the district of the same name, in Bihar. It lies on the southern bank of the Ganges and is situated in 25° 23' N and 86° 28' E. Ibid. p. 224.

33. Bhagalpur is the chief town and administrative headquarters of the district of this name in Bihar, situated on the right bank of the Ganges in 25° 15' N and 87° O' E. D. G. Bhagalpur (1911) p. 163.

34. Kahalgaon (Colgong) is a town, situated on the south bank of the Ganges, in 25° 16' N and 87° 14' E. Ibid p. 164.

35. Teliagarhi is situated 7 miles west of Sahibganj close to the Eastern Railway line. It is a plateau on the lower slope of the

as the gate of Bengal, were successively captured by the advancing imperial army. From there the Mughals proceeded towards Tanda,[86] the capital of Bengal, whereupon the defending Afghans led by Daud Khan left the city and fled away towards Satgaon[87] and thence to Orissa.

Up to this point there is unanimity among the contemporary authors viz., Abu-l-Fazl, Nizamu-d-din, Ilahdad Faiz Sarhindi and Safdar 'Ali. But from the seizure of Tanda to the Treaty of Cuttack, their accounts differ. Modern historians like R. D. Banerjee,[88] Acharya Jadunath Sarkar,[89] N. K. Bhattasali[40] and A. L. Srivastava[41] are silent on these differences. The account of Ilahdad Faiz Sarhindi, which was prepared on the basis of the narration of Shaikh Farid Bokhari, *bakhshi-ul-mulk*, who took part in Bihar and Bengal campaigns, has certain common points with that of Safdar 'Ali, the *mir-munshi* of Todar Mal, and these can be reconciled on most

Rajmahal hills, at the foot of which the Ganges formerly flowed. Owing to its position it was a place of great strategic importance, and was known as the "Key of Bengal", D. G. Santhal Pargana (1910), p. 284. See Map II.

36. Tanda was in Malda district, Bengal. Sulaiman Karrani made it the capital of Bengal in 1564 on account of unhealthiness of Gaur itself. Its history is obscure and the very site of the city has not been accurately determined. It is supposed to have been a *char* of the Ganges to the south-west of Gaur. The *char* on which the city stood was completely swept away. D. G. Malda (1918), p. 99.

37. Satgaon or Saptagram is now a small village on the left bank of the Saraswati in the thana Hooghly of the district of the same name, about 4 miles north of the town. During the 14-16th centuries Satgaon was a very important town and port and was the administrative headquarters of South-West Bengal. D. G. Hooghly (1912). p. 304.

38. *Banglar Itihas*. II. pp. 376-78.

39. *The Battle of Tukaroi, 3rd March, 1575. Bengal Past And Present*, July-September, 1935. pp. 1-4.

40. *Bengal Chiefs' Struggle, Bengal Past And Present*. XXXV. pp. 1-6.

41. *Akbar the Great*. I. pp. 188-89.

points with the accounts of the others. We have, therefore, reconstructed a reasonable account of Todar Mal's Bengal campaign up to the death of Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas on the basis of Ilahdad's and Safdar 'Ali's narratives supplemented by those of other contemporaries. From the death of Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas to the Treaty of Cuttack, we have mostly relied upon Abu-l-Fazl's (the official historian) account. The merit of the account of Safdar 'Ali is that it gives the date of almost every event of the Bengal campaign. But it suffers from one serious defect. There are some gross mistakes in the dates given by him.[42] We have accepted only those which tally with other contemporary authors or are not in conflict with them.[43]

On receiving the news of Daud's flight at some distance from Tanda, Mun'im Khan sent Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas in pursuit of Daud Khan[44] and himself entered Tanda along with Raja Todar Mal on 21st September, 1574.[45] The Khan Khanan then engaged himself in consolidating the Mughal position there and received considerable help from the Raja in accomplishing the task. Their sincere and hard labour not only remedied the distracted affairs of the city but also strengthened its political and financial condition.

42. As for example, the month *Shawal*, the 10th month. has been mentioned, perhaps, due to scribe's mistake, before the month *Ramzan*, the 9th month. S. A. f. 5.

43. The controversial points are elaborately discussed in Appendix-II.

44. S. A. f. 3. This is a controversial point. See Appendix-II.

45. T. A. II. p. 300; S. A. f. 3. Abu-l-Fazl states that the Khan Khanan entered the city of Tanda on the day of *Gosh* 14 *Mihr*, Divine month. This corresponds, according to Mr. H. Beveridge, to 24th September, 1574. A. N. III. p. 109; Eng. Tr. pp. 150, 151. But as it is difficult to correspond the date of the *Ilahi* year with that of the Christian year, we have accepted the *Hijri* date as given by Nizamu-d-din and Safdar 'Ali.

Meanwhile, Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas, who had gone in pursuit of Daud Khan, came back after an unsuccessful encounter near Satgaon with Sarwandi Khan, one of Daud's lieutenants.[46] Mun'im Khan thereupon sent Raja Todar Mal along with an army on 12th October, 1574, against Daud Khan.[47] Ram Das Kachhwaha, Kishan Singh and Kunwar Ramapat Ujjainiya were also ordered to accompany Todar Mal with their followers.[48]

Armies were also despatched to different directions in order to crush the Afghans completely and capture the whole of Bengal.[49] Accordingly Majnun Khan Qaqshal, Baba Khan, Jabbari and others were deputed aginst Kala Pahar and Sulaiman Mankali, the Afghan generals, who had fled from Tanda towards Ghoraghat.[50] Murad Khan[51] and a band of brave soldiers were sent towards Fathabad and Bakla.[52] I'timad Khan and a number of hard fighters went towards Sonargaon.[53]

46. S. A. f. 3. Mr. B. P. Ambasthya has wrongly mentioned Sarwandi Khan as Mirwandi Khan. J. B. R. S. XLIV. p. 64.

47. T. A. II. p. 302 ; M. T. II. pp. 191-92 . I. F. S. f. 107 ; S. A. f. 3 ; R. K. V. f. 11.

48. S. A. f. 3 ; R. K. V. f. 11.

49. A. N. III. pp. 118-19 ; I. F. S. f. 107 ; S. A. f. 3.

50. *Sarkar* Ghoraghat comprised portions of Dinajpur, Rangpur and Kuch-Bihar. *Riyaz-us-Salatin*. Eng. Tr. p. 42 ; Ain. II. Eng. Tr. p. 128 ; C. G. H. B. p. 7.

51. Murad Khan was a *mansabdar* of 3000 under Akbar. He led the Mughal army which captured Bakla. He died on 988 H/1580-81. Blochmann. pp. 404, 405.

52. *Sarkar* Fathabad comprised Faridpur, South Bakharganj and the islands at the mouth of the Ganges. *Sarkar* Bakla consisted of North and East Bakharganj and South-West Dacca. Ain. II. Eng. Tr. pp. 127-28 ; C. G. H. B. p. 10.

The *Akbarnama* MS (A. S. B. No. P. 122). f. 369a and I. F. S. f. 107 have mentioned Bakla. But the Persian text of the A. N. has wrongly mentioned Bakla as Bagla. A. N. III. p. 119.

53. *Sarkar* Sonargaon was composed of Dacca, West Tipperah and Noakhali. Ain. II. Eng. Tr. p. 128 ; C. G. H. B. p. 9.

Todar Mal in his pursuit against Daud Khan arrived at Madaran[54] by successive marches on 31st October, 1574.[55] The scouts then brought the news that Daud had encamped at Debra-Kasari[56] and was collecting an army that had already swelled to 50 to 60 thousand with which to fight the pursuing Mughals. Finding his forces inadequate Todar Mal halted there and sent a detailed report to the Khan Khanan and asked for reinforcements. Accordingly Mun'im Khan despatched a well-equipped army under the command of Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas on 15th November who arrived at Madaran on 25th November.[57] After a brief consultation among themselves Todar Mal accompanied by Ram Das Kachhwaha, Kishan Singh Panwar, Kunwar Ramapat Ujjainiya, Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas, Muhammad Quli Khan Toqbai, Qiya Khan and others started for Debra-Kasari on 1st December[58] and reached Kolia by a continuous march. On hearing Todar Mal's arrival at Kolia[59] Daud retreated further and

54. Madaran is identified with Garh-Mandaran. Garh-Mandaran was in the Arambag sub-division of Hooghly district and about 8 miles due south west of Arambag city. D. G. Hooghly (1912). p. 115.

55. S. A. f. 3.

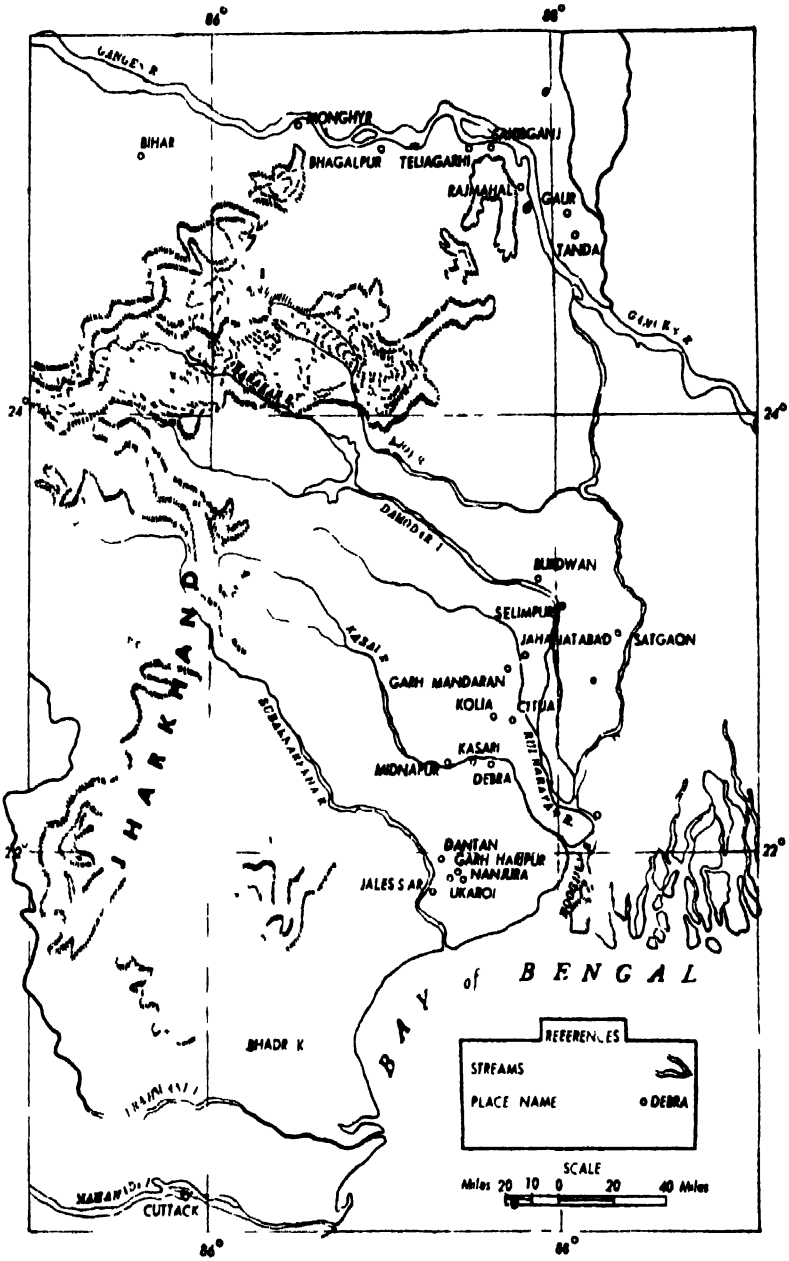
56. T. A. (II. p. 303) has Din Kasari. B. De states : "The name of the place is given Din Kasārī and Rin Kasārī in the MSS. In the lith ed. it is Dihi Kasārī though further on it is also written as Din Kasārī." T. A. II. Eng. Tr. p. 460n4. Acharya Jadunath Sarkar has read it Debra-Kasari or Debra-Kasai. Acharya Sarkar's reading seems to be correct. Debra is situated 15 miles east of Midnapur city, and Kasai 4 miles west of Debra. *Bengal Past And Present.* July-September, 1935. p. 4. See Map II.

57. S. A. f. 3.

58. Ibid f. 4.

59. The MS of T. A. (A. S. B. P. 115) f. 648. has Koliar. Both the Persian Text and the lith ed. have mistakenly given the name as Goaliar. In Rennel's *Bengal Atlas*, sheet no. 7 there is a place spelt as Colliah. Acharya Jadunath Sarkar has identified Kolia with the latter. This place is 23 miles north-east of Midnapur city and almost midway between Mandaran and Midnapur City. *Bengal Past And Present.* July-September, 1935. p. 1.

Map to Illustrate Todar Mal's Campaigns in Bengal



entrenched himself in a strong position at Garh-Haripur,[60] eleven miles south-east of Danton station of South Eastern Railway.

At this time spies brought the news of the appearance of Junaid Karrani, Daud's cousin, in the neighbourhood. Son of Daud's uncle, Imad Khan, Junaid had distinguished himself for his bravery and generalship. He fled from Bengal and joined Akbar's court during the reign of Sulaiman Karrani. But this restless adventurer soon got into trouble with the Mughal emperor and then joined the ranks of the Afghans in Gujarat. Here as the leader of the Centre of the Afghan army, he at first caused great trouble and loss to the Mughals at the battle of Pattan in the beginning of 1573, but being defeated by the Mughals he escaped towards the Deccan.[61]

The appearance of such a formidable and dangerous Afghan general was a matter of grave concern for the Mughals and especially for Todar Mal deputed to crush Daud Khan. Junaid was trying to meet Daud Khan and a union of the two would make the Raja's position very difficult. So, in order to forestall the possible dangerous junction between Daud Khan and his cousin, Todar Mal at once sent a detachment under Abu-l-Qasim and Nazr Bahadur against Junaid. But Junaid very wisely avoided clash with the imperial army and hid himself in the jungles and hills of Jharkhand.[62]

At this time disturbances broke out at Selimpur[63] near Burdwan. On receiving this news the Raja sent a strong

60. The A. N. (III. p. 122) has mentioned it as Harpur. F. A. (II. p. 303) has Dharpur and the variant Darirpur is given. M. T. (II. p. 192) has Rahirpur and Harpur and Roharpur are given as variant. Acharya Jadunath Sarkar has identified it with Garh-Haripur. *Bengal Past And Present.* July-September, 1935. p. 1.

61. A. N. III. p. 119 ; F. A. II. p. 303 ; M. T. II. pp. 192-93.

62. A. N. III. p. 119 , I. F. S. f 107. There is controversy on this point which is discussed in Appendix-II.

63. Selimpur is about 12 miles south-east of Burdwan city. It was a small *pargana* in Burdwan district. D. G. Burdwan (1910). p. 204.

detachment to chastise the trouble-makers. The imperial contingent successfully crushed the evil-doers and returned.[64]

Just then came the news of Junaid's reappearance in the neighbourhood. Todar Mal again sent an army under Nazr Bahadur, Abu-l-Qasim Namkin, Biharimal Khatri and others against Junaid. The Raja, perhaps, thought that the latter was making another effort to join Daud Khan. Actually, Junaid, who had previously avoided clash with the army sent by Todar Mal against him, ultimately went to Daud Khan through a different route. But the two Afghan leaders failed to make common cause against the pursuing Mughal army owing to Junaid's "selfopinionatedness and excessive demands". He was, therefore, returning to his hideouts in Jharkhand. Nazr Bahadur, Abu-l-Qasim Namkin, Biharimal Khatri and others, owing to inexperience, showed least concern to Junaid's ability and potentiality and took the task of chastising him lightly. They advanced towards the enemy without taking necessary precaution. Junaid fell upon them like a tiger and routed the entire army. Some of the important officers including Biharimal Khatri were killed. A shameful defeat and flight was the price they had to pay for their foolhardy negligence. On receiving this news Todar Mal himself went against Junaid. But the latter adroitly evaded him and escaped to the jungles and hills of Jharkhand.[65]

A few days after, Yar Muhammad, who had been plundering the Afghan settlements on the borders of Jharkhand in defiance of the summons of Mun'im Khan, was completely defeated and robbed of his plundered property. This thrust brought Yar Muhammad to his senses and he now joined the Raja's army.[66]

64. A. N. III. p. 119, I. F. S. f. 107.
65. It is a controversial issue which is discussed in Appendix-II.
66. A. N. III. p. 120.

At Kolia Todar Mal came to know about Daud's flight to Cuttack. Pursuing the latter the Raja reached Midnapur.[67] Here he halted to arrange clothings for his soldiers. Suddenly Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas died after a short illness due to poisoning, as stated by Abu-l-Fazl.[68] The death of such an important and veteran general filled the Mughal camp with airs of suspicion. Serious dissensions broke out. Some officers hostile to Mun'im Khan, made Qiya Khan their leader and decided to return to the court through Jharkhand. They resolved to capture Junaid, who was creating disturbances in that region (Jharkhand), on their way so as to avert the emperor's wrath at their indisciplined, action. Todar Mal tried his best to pacify and bring them to their senses. But they turned a deaf ear to his requests and proceeded towards Jharkhand. Disgusted with their disloyalty and unruly behaviour Todar Mal suspended his march against Daud and started returning. From Madaran he sent a detailed report of the events to Mun'im Khan urging that only money could purchase their loyalty. While Todar Mal was waiting at Burdwan[69] Lashkar Khan came with a large sum of money from Mun'im Khan and persuaded him not to abandon his pursuit of Daud Khan. Todar Mal agreed to resume his march against Daud and advised Lashkar Khan to pacify Qiya Khan and his followers with the money so brought as well as by sweet words. Lashkar Khan performed this task successfully and Qiya Khan and his followers agreed to remain loyal. At this time a body of brave soldiers led by Shaham Khan Jalair and Khwaja 'Abdullah arrived to reinforce Todar

67. Midnapur is the headquarters of the district of the same name, situated in 22° 25' N and 87° 19' E and stands on the north bank of the river Kasai. D. G. Midnapur (1911). p. 208

68. A. N. III. p. 121.

69. Burdwan is the headquarters of the district of the same name, situated in 23° 14' N and 87° 51' E on the Banka river and the main line of Eastern Railway. D. G. Burdwan (1910). p. 188.

Mal's army. Only Kunwar Ramapat Ujjainiya refused to accompany the Raja and went towards Bhojpur[70] with his followers. The Raja now resumed his march against Daud Khan and arrived at Citua[71] via Madaran.

Meanwhile, Daud Khan had collected a large force and almost completed arrangements for a showdown with the Mughals. He had so long been retreating almost without a battle. But now emboldened by the news of dissensions in the Mughal army, Daud Khan at last decided to fight the Mughals. He was encouraged in this task by Khan Jahan Lodi, his deputy in Orissa. Putting his family in the fort of Cuttack for safety, he fortified his camp at Garh-Haripur by digging a ditch around it and making entrenchments. He also put barricades at strategic points of the regular road approaching his camp.[72] His aim was to weaken the advancing Mughal army to a great extent by ambushes and then crush this weakened army by frontal attack at a suitable time and place. Clearly his strategy was a defensive one.

But all the efforts of Daud Khan to cripple the powerful Mughal army and bar its advance were of no avail. Two factors were responsible for this turn of events. First, Todar Mal took steps to remove the dissensions in the imperial camp. At Citua Todar Mal came to know about Daud's movements from the scouts. But as the dissensions among the Mughal officers did not die down completely, Todar Mal thought it unwise to fight Daud with an army whose loyalty was doubtful. Considering that the presence of Mun'im Khan would help to

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70. Bhojpur is a municipal town in the Buxar sub-division of Sahabad district, Bihar, situated in 25° 35' N and 84° 48' E. D. G, Sahabad (1966). p. 798.

71. Citua or Chitwa was a *pargana* in the north-east of the Midnapur district, situated in the Ghatal sub-division. According to the Ain. it was a *mahal* of *Sarkar* Madaran. D. G. Midnapur (1911). pp. 174-75.

72. A. N. III. pp. 121-22.

remove the signs of discord and disloyalty, he sent messengers to Mun'im Khan requesting him to come. The aged Khan Khanan, however, was contemplating to lead the life of ease and peace. He had no intention of undertaking strain and facing risk and danger. Naturally he was reluctant to join Todar Mal and take part in the ensuing campaign as the leader. But pressure from Akbar, who was very eager to have an immediate and successful end of the eastern campaign, compelled Mun'im Khan to give up his inactivity and join Todar Mal at Citua. A good number of the Mughal officers were disheartened, while others refused to fight and were clamouring for peace. Mun'im Khan, therefore, summoned a council of all officers. In the meeting he and Todar Mal whipped up their flagging spirit by persuasion and by citing examples of the continuous and successful adventures of their fellow imperial officers and even of the emperor himself in different parts of the country.[73]

The second factor was the adoption of the strategy of bypassing Daud's formidable defences instead of a frontal attack. There is no clear reference to the role which Todar Mal might have played in the formulation of this surprise move on the part of the Mughals. This new Mughal strategy, which was worked out after full discussion among all concerned, involved quick marches through a new and shortcut route instead of through the regular road which ran through a jungle where the advancing Mughal army could easily be ambushed,[74] and which had already been blocked by Daud's army, and thereby to surprise Daud's flank with lightning speed. Guided by men familiar with the locality, the entire force reached Nanjura,[75] a village close to Contai-Midnapur Road and

73. A, N. III. pp. 121-22.

74. Ibid p. 122.

75. Nanjura, according to Acharya Jadunath Sarkar. "has been misspelt as Khabura, Bachora etc., in Tabaqat and Al Badaoni.'

11 miles south-east of Danton.[76] Finding no other alternative Daud resolved to fight a pitched battle.

On the 3rd March, 1575,[77] the two armies stood face to face on the plain of Tukaroi[78] (Tukra), three miles west of Nanjura and nine miles south-east of Danton.[79]

To form an idea of Todar Mal's role in the battle of Tukaroi, it is necessary to review the operations briefly. Arranging his army in the customary fashion, Mun'im Khan put the artillery in the fore-front of his forces. The Van under Khan 'Alam was supported by Advance Reserve with Qiya Khan and a group of officers. The Left Wing was headed by Todar Mal, assisted by Ashraf Khan, Ramdas Kachhwaha and others. The Centre was under Mun'im Khan, supported by Lashkai Khan and others. The Right Wing was led by Shaham Khan Jalair, Muhammad Quli Khan Toqbai, I'timad Khan and others.[80]

The Afghans placed their formidable band of elephants on the front row ; next came the Van of the army, commanded by Gujar Khan. Daud Khan himself remained at the Centre. His Right Wing was under Sikander Khan, the brother of Khan Jahan, the Afghan governor of Orissa,

Bengal Past And Present. July-September, 1935. p. 1 ; S A. (f. 5) and R. K. V. (f. 11) have mentioned it as Bakhtuti.

76. Danton is now in Midnapur sub-division of the district of the same name. D. G. Midnapur (1911). p. 220.

77. A. N. III. p. 122 , Eng. Tr. p. 175.

78. The *Akbarnama* (text) has Nukrohi but the variant Tukroi or Tukaroi is given in the note. A. N. III. p. 122. S. A. (f. 5) has Tukrai R. K. V. (f. 12) has also Tukrai. Acharya Jadunath Sarkar has accepted it as Tukaroi. *Bengal Past And Present.* p. 1. But in his *Military History of India* (p. 72) he states that a map (of Midnapur) published in 1840 has mentioned it as Tukra. This is also used by Dr. Srivastava. *Akbar The Great.* I. p. 181. The D. G. Midnapur has Turkoa. To avoid confusion we have used Tukaroi as given in Abu-l-Fazl. See Map II.

79. *Bengal Past And Present.* July-September, 1935. p. 2.

80. A. N. III. pp. 122-23.

while the Left Wing was led by Isma'il Khan, Khan Khanan.[81]

In the first phase of the battle, the engagement was confined to the Mughal Van, Advance Reserve and the Centre. The Afghans started their onslaught before Mun'im Khan could properly marshal the ranks of his troops. Gujar Khan, the commander of the Afghan Van, attacked the Mughal Van and routed it completely. Khan 'Alam, the leader of the Mughal Van, was killed. Gujar Khan then made a lightning dash and broke down the Mughal Advance Reserve. The troops of the Advance Reserve fell back upon the Centre of the Mughal army and distracted its formation. Mun'im Khan and a few of his officers remained firm and received injuries to withstand Gujar's fierce thrust. At this time his horse became unruly. Some of his well-wishers, therefore, took the reins of his horse and turned it back. Gujar Khan and his Afghan soldiers pursued Mun'im Khan up to a distance of a mile where the Mughal camps were situated. Giving up the pursuit they then engaged themselves in plundering them. This dispersion and diversion of aim weakened Gujar's force and snapped its link with the main body of the Afghan army. Meanwhile, Qiya Khan and a number of officers reformed their dispersed ranks and returned to the battle field. They attacked the Afghans fiercely and killed Gujar Khan. The sight of the leader's death disheartened Gujar's followers who started fleeing and soon melted into nothing. At this time Mun'im Khan, who had somehow controlled his unruly horse, rejoined the victorious army. Thus an almost sure victory was turned into a shameful defeat owing to the greed and indiscipline among the Afghan officers and men.[82]

It is very strange that the Afghan Left, Centre and Right Wings failed to take advantage of the opening thrust

81. A. N. III. p. 123.
82. Ibid. pp. 123-25.

and resultant chaos created in the Mughal army by Gujar Khan. Daud received the news of the dispersion of the Van, the Advance Reserve and the Centre of the Mughal army. But he thought that it was a trick of Mun'im Khan to lure him to the inside ring of the Centre of the Mughal army and then to crush him by the combined charge of the Wings from both sides.[83] So instead of following Gujar Khan he attacked the Left Wing headed by Todar Mal. As the latter had kept his troops in readiness, it was possible for his men to withstand all the Afghan attacks. At this time an informer brought to Todar Mal the news of the disaster of the Van, the Advance Reserve and the Centre of the Mughal army and death and injury of Khan 'Alam and Mun'im Khan respectively. Without showing any outward sign of alarm Todar Mal displayed his presence of mind and strong common sense. The Raja immediately hushed the informer into silence and ordered him not to divulge this news to any one, and not to be disheartened and panicky even if a leader had died and another had received serious wounds. Encouraging him with sweet words that the imperial army was sure to win, Todar Mal said : "The breeze of victory is about to blow and the light of success is emerging from the horizon of hope."[84]

At the other extremity Shaham Khan, the Right Wing Mughal leader, became unnerved at the spectacular success of Gujar Khan and was about to retreat. But a number of brave officers persuaded him to attack the Left Wing of the Afghans.[85] While the Mughal Left and Right Wings were thus hotly engaged with the Centre and Left Wing of the Afghans respectively, the Right Wing of the Afghans, which so long remained stationed, hesitantly pressed forward, perhaps, on receiving the news of Gujar's success. But at the alarming news of Gujar's death, they hastily

83. A. N. III. p. 126.
84. Ibid p. 125 ; Eng. Tr. p. 178.
85. Ibid p. 126.

retreated.[86] Shaham Khan succeeded in routing the Afghan Left Wing quickly. He then turned his attention towards the direction where the forces of Todar Mal and Daud Khan were locked in a hot and bloody engagement. Daud could not withstand the concerted attack of the Mughal Left and Right Wings and fled for his life. Pursuing the fleeing Afghans, the Mughals slew many of them and captured abundant booty by plundering the Afghan camps.[87]

The battle of Tukaroi thus ended in favour of the Mughals. The famous 'good fortune' of Akbar once again prevailed and a near defeat turned into a success owing to the sudden and unlucky death of Gujar Khan and the idiotic and cowardly behaviour of the Afghan generals. People of this locality used to call it the battle of 'Mughalmari' which reflects the sad plight of the Mughals in this battle. The importance of the battle lies in the fact that it actually decided the fate of Bengal and transferred its sovereignty from the Afghans to the Mughals.

On the following morning Mun'im Khan ordered a general massacre of the Afghan prisoners out of vengeance.[88] He then held a brief conference with his officers. According to the decision arrived at, he sent a strong detachment in pursuit of Daud Khan who had fled towards Cuttack, under the leadership of Todar Mal, assisted by Shaham Khan, Ram Das Kachhwaha, Kishan Singh and other officers. Mun'im Khan himself was to join the pursuing army after his wounds were healed up. Todar Mal along with these officers immediately proceeded towards Cuttack and on 11th March, 1575[89] arrived at Bhadrak.[90] Here he came to know that Daud had already reached Cuttack.

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86. A. N. III. p. 126.
87. Ibid.
88. Ibid. p. 127.
89. S. A. f. 6.
90. Bhadrak is the headquarters town of the sub-division of the

The Afghans, who had fled from Tukaroi, joined Daud here. The vagabonds of the locality also began to flock round him. He began to collect materials and equip his army for another showdown with the Mughals. In this matter he was supported by Khan Jahan, the Afghan governor of Cuttack.

This news again gave rise to dissensions and suspicion among some of the tired and war-torn officers of the Mughal army as in the past. It posed a serious problem for Todar Mal. He used all his wisdom and influence to bear upon the situation and tried his best to soothe and quieten them. But all this was of no avail. It seems that as the horrible sight of death and destruction sustained by the Mughal army in the battle of Tukaroi was still fresh in their mind, a good number of officers were afraid of fighting. Moreover, some of the officers had enmity with Mun'im Khan ; so they refused to oblige Todar Mal, the representative of the Khan Khanan. He, therefore, wisely decided not to proceed against Daud with men of such doubtful loyalty. Reporting the matter to Mun'im Khan, the Raja asked the latter to be present personally which alone would bring the trouble-makers back to their senses.[91]

This report reached Mun'im Khan on 27th March, 1575.[92] Unable to take the bridle, the sick old general rode a palanquin and proceeded towards Bhadrak as rapidly as possible. His arrival there at once put an end to dissensions. Accompanied by Todar Mal and others, Mun'im Khan encamped on the bank of the river Mahanadi near Cuttack. The presence of such a large and powerful Mughal force excited fear in the heart of the Afghans who were numerically inferior and deficient in weapons. Daud, therefore, decided to seek peace and sent a group of officers to win over the imperial officers by gold and polite

same name of Balasore district. It is situated in 21° 3' N and 86° 31' E on the bank of the river Salandi. D. G. Balasore (1907). pp. 194-95.

91. A. N. III. pp. 129-30.

92. S. A. f. 7.

words. Todar Mal, however, thought it to be a trick on the part of the Afghans to secure respite and prepare themselves for the future contest. He, therefore, wisely tried his best to foil this game of the Afghans. But the old general, Mun'im Khan, was so eager to have rest that he refused to give ear to Todar Mal's reasoning. Supporting the Raja's thinking Abu-l-Fazl comments : "In that abode of darkness the torch of his monition could not give light."[93]

Mun'im Khan made peace with Daud Khan on 12th April, 1575.[94]. Certain aspects of the Treaty are subject to controversy. What follows is based on a critical study of the different views. On the basis of this reconstruction we now proceed to mention its main aspects.[95]

The main terms of the Treaty are as follows :

1) Daud would accept service under the Mughal emperor.

2) That he would personally be present at the Mughal court at some later date after rendering good service to the Mughals.

3) That at present he would immediately send one of his trusted lieutenants to the imperial court as his representative.

4) That he would send to the emperor me noted elephants and other choicest presents.

5) That he would be allowed to enjoy the lordship of some parts of Orissa.

All except Todar Mal joined the feast and rejoicings that took place after the conclusion of the Treaty. A man of independent judgement and a sincere well-wisher of the empire, the Raja refused to be present at the banquet hall and sign the Treaty. He thought it idiotic to perform victory celebrations as the Afghans of the eastern provinces were yet to be completely crushed. As Abu-l-Fazl

93. A. N. III. p. 130 , Eng. Tr. p. 184.
94. Ibid.
95. The controversial points are fully discussed in Appendix-II.

comments : "The generality showed joy, with the exception of Raja Todar Mal, who from his farseeingness kept his head in the fold of thought, and who was not present in that banqueting hall, nor put his seal to the document of that peace. In as much as the world is a place of retribution every one of them very quickly had the recompense of his actions."[96]

Todar Mal's wise statesmanship was fully vindicated by the future course of events. A few months later, Daud, once again, raised the banner of rebellion. Although he was eventually defeated and killed, yet throughout Akbar's reign the Mughals had to move from one place to another to quell the series of Afghan risings and the rebellions of the local *zamindars*.

It is very strange that such a great statesman like Akbar not only endorsed the agreement but honoured Mun'im Khan with a splendid robe, 'a jewelled sword-belt and a golden saddle'.[97] Perhaps he was then not aware of Todar Mal's dissent about the situation at that time and was misguided by the encouraging report of the Khan Khanan, the supreme commander of the eastern provinces in whom he had great faith,

The Treaty of Cuttack, according to Acharya J. N. Sarkar, "merely proclaimed the *de jure* annexation of Bengal to Akbar's empire ; but the actual imposition of imperial peace and orderly Mughal administration on Bengal was still far off."[98]

It is th is evident from the above discussion that Todar Mal played a vital role in defeating Daud Khan Karrani and his forces and accomplishing the Mughal conquest of Bengal. Todar Mal was despatched to the eastern camp when no important victory had been achieved since the beginning of the Bengal campaign at the end of 1572.

96. A. N. III. pp. 130-31 ; Eng. Tr. p. 185.
97. T: A. II. p. 309.
98. *History of Bengal*. II. p. 193.

Accordingly he joined the Khan Khanan's army at Tirmohini. He disciplined and instilled fighting spirit into the illdisciplined and dispirited soldiers. Within a few days Todar Mal mobilised a large army which immediately set itself in action and put the Afghans stationed at that quarter in an awkward position.

After the capture of Patna, he was called upon to assist the Khan Khanan in continuing the campaign against Daud and he complied with the order. The Mughals captured the country from Patna to Tanda within a short time.

From the time of the seizure of Tanda to that of the signing of the Treaty of Cuttack, Todar Mal played the most vital role. When after an unsuccessful encounter with an Afghan army near Satgaon Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas came back to Tanda, Todar Mal was ordered to march against Daud Karrani. On his way he forced Junaid Karrani, the ablest Afghan general, to take shelter in the jungles and hills of Jharkhand. He wisely suggested to Mun'im Khan to send money which alone could subdue the dissensions that broke out after the death of Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas. He helped the Khan Khanan greatly by his strong determination and persuasive tongue in infusing fighting spirit among the Mughal generals and soldiers, who, once again, resumed their march against Daud Khan.

Above all, in the decisive battle of Tukaroi it was due to Todar Mal's undaunted courage, strong determination and presence of mind that the Mughals became victorious even after the intial debacle. He showed alertness in keeping his troops ready for the battle and this enabled him to withstand the onslaught of the Afghan Centre led by Daud Khan. He promptly silenced the messenger and cautioned him not to divulge the news of the debacle of the Mughal Van, *Iltmish* and the Centre; the death of Khan 'Alam and the miserable plight of Khan Khanan, the supreme commander. He also enthused the messenger with encouraging words and the bright prospect of the Mughals. All these testify to Todar Mal's strong nerve, iron will,

unswerving loyalty and ready intelligence. But for him, the outcome would have been different.

Todar Mal then led the Mughal army pursuing Daud Khan towards Cuttack. At Bhadrak he sought Mun'im Khan's personal presence instead of forcing the unwilling generals and soldiers to carry on the campaign. This speaks of his sense of realism. He showed his political insight and wisdom in refusing to sign the Treaty of Cuttack. Todar Mal's intention was to crush Daud and his forces completely and establish Mughal authority over the entire Afghan kingdom comprising Bihar, Bengal and Orissa. Otherwise, the Treaty would give respite to the Afghans who would exploit this in preparing themselves for the future contest. The future course of events fully vindicated Todar Mal's statesmanship.[99]

II. Appointment as Mashraf-i-Diwan and De facto Vakil

Mun'im Khan and Todar Mal returned to Tanda on 21st May, 1575.[100] At the end of the rainy season of 1575 (i. e., sometime towards the end of August or the beginning of September) two events seemed to have taken place almost simultaneously. One was the transfer of the provincial capital from Tanda to Gaur, the famous capital city of the Sultans of Bengal. Gaur had been deserted owing to the scarcity of drinking water and the breakdown of the sanitary conditions caused by the shift of the river Ganges. The

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99. See Section III of this Chapter.

100. Nizamu-d-din (T A. II. p 310), Badayuni (M. T. II. p. 197) and Qandahari (M. A. Q. p. 204) state that Mun'im Khan came back to Tanda on 10th *Safar* 983 H/21st May, 1575. According to S. A. (f. 8) Mun'im Khan reached Tanda on 2nd *Safar* 983 H/13th May, 1575. Abu-l-Fazl does not give any date. As most of the authors state that Mun'im Khan reached on 10th *Safar* 983 H/21st May, 1575, we have accepted it.

atmosphere of the place, therefore, had become very unhealthy, especially at the end of the rains, when the climate changed. Ignoring all these factors the old general shifted the capital to Gaur not only to restore its former glory but also in order to be near Ghoraghat, the seat of Afghan disturbances. But a devastating pestilence soon broke out there, which took a heavy toll of important Mughal officers and men and caused serious illness to many more. At this time came the news that Junaid Karrani had again started creating disturbances in Bihar. Realising his blunder Mun'im Khan sought to redress it and returned to Tanda where he died after a short illness.[101] This news reached the emperor on 29th *Aban*/8th or 9th November 1575.[102]

The second event was the return of Raja Todar Mal to the imperial capital. Unaware of the above mentioned developments in Bengal the Raja reached there on 23rd *Aban*/2nd or 3rd November, 1575 with "fifty-four noted elephants and rarities from Bengal", obtained in the battle of Tukaroi and at the time of peace. He gave a report of the events in Bengal to the emperor.[103]

On his successful return from the eastern campaigns he was honoured with various favours. Abu-l-Fa'l writes: 'Financial and territorial matters were entrusted to him, and he was made *mashraf-i-diwan*."[104] Further, he writes: "they (the monarchs) are not always able to find a person qualified for the office of a *vakil*, they make choice of a man who has some of his qualities, and appoint him as *mashraf-i-diwan*, which office is higher in rank than that of the *diwan*, lower than that of the *vakil*."[105]

101. A. N. III. p. 160 . T. A II p. 317 M I. II. pp. 216-18 ; M. A. Q. p. 211.
102. A. N. III. pp. 159-60 . Eng. Tr. p 226nl.
103. Ibid. pp. 157-58.
104. Ibid. p. 158 , Eng Tr. p. 223.
105. Ain. I. p. 5 , Eng. Tr. p. 6.

It seems from Abu-l-Fazl's subsequent statement in the same paragraph that at the same time Todar Mal was also made *de facto vakil* although he was not honoured with the formal title. While criticizing the Raja's spiteful and revengeful attitude the author states: "Such a quality is considered by the wise to be one of the worst qualities in a man, especially in an administrator to whom men's affairs are entrusted and who has been selected as the *vakil* of such a world-lord."[106] This clearly supports our presumption that the Raja was made the *de facto vakil* or prime minister in the 1st week of November, 1575.[107]

III Second Campaign in Bengal

The death of the veteran general Mun'im Khan caused great confusion in the Mughal army in Bengal. The officers made Shaham Khan their leader; but they failed to reestablish harmony among themselves. This encouraged Daud Khan, ever lukewarm in his recognition of Mughal suzerainty, to raise the banner of independence in a bid to scrap the Treaty of Cuttack. Torn by dissensions and dispirited by harrowing experience of the pestilence and the death of their numerous comrades, the Mughal soldiers could not withstand the Afghan offensive. 'Isa Khan,[108] a local Afghan landlord, attacked Shah Bardi who was in charge of the boats and artillery of the Mughals in

106. A. N. III. p. 158 ; Eng. Tr. p. 223.

107. It is also known from Abu-l-Fazl that Todar Mal was made *ashraf-ı-diwan* and virtual *vakil* in the beginning of 27th regnal year/ 1582-83. This has led scholars like Blochmann, Smith and Dr. A. L. Srivastava to state that Todar Mal became *de facto vakil* in 1582. Actually Todar Mal was honoured with these posts for the second time in the 27th regnal year. For a fuller discussion of this point see Chapter VIII.

108. This 'Isa Khan seems to be the famous 'Isa Khan, the most powerful among the *Bhuyians* who opposed the establishment of Mughal rule in Bengal because the latter is also mentioned by Abu-l-Fazl as "Isa *Zamindar*" at several places. A. N. III. pp. 161, 259, 632.

Bengal. The latter hastily retreated and joined the other imperial forces at Tanda. Meanwhile, after quickly recapturing Bhadrak and Jalessar[109] Daud advanced towards Tanda. Here also the Mughals without offering any resistance retreated towards Gaur.

With a view to taking all their properties out of Bengal the Mughals went towards Bihar by way of Purnea[110] and Tirhut.[111] Even Adam Tajband, who was coming from the court with *farmans* addressed to the Khan Khanan and the Bengal officers, began most shamefully to plunder and appropriate all the elephants and other properties of the deceased Khan Khanan.[112]

On receiving the news, Akbar immediately diverted Khan Jahan,[113] who was to start for the Badakshan expedition, to Bengal in order to conquer that country and drive away the Afghans. All the Bengal officers and land-holders were ordered to regard Khan Jahan as the governor of the province and follow his instructions. With him was associated Todar Mal, the able, experienced and most loyal among the offiicers.[114]

109 Jalessar is an old town on the north-east boundary of Balasore district, Orissa. It is situated in 21° 49' N and 87° 13' E on the left bank of the river Suvarnarekha D. G. Balasore (1907). p. 200.

110. Purnea is the headquarters of the district of the same name and is situated in 25° 46' N and 87° 28' E. D. G. Purnea (1916). p. 198.

111. In the Mughal empire Tirhut was, perhaps, the headquarters of the *sarkar* of the same name in the *subah* of Bihar. This *sarkar* included the present districts of Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga (except the southern portion), nearly the whole of Bhagalpur and a small portion of Monghyr. D. G. Muzaffarpur (1907). p. 160.

112. A. N. III. p. 161.

113. Khan Jahan's name was Husain Quli Beg. He was the son of Bairam's sister. Akbar made him a Khan in his 8th regnal year/ 1563-64 and honoured him with the title of Khan-Jahan in the 18th regnal year/1573-74. He was a *mansabdar* of 5000. M. U. I. pp. 561-66, Blochmann. pp. 348-51.

114. A. N. III. p. 162.

On the night of the 15th November, 1575, Todar Mal accompanied Khan Jahan in his march to Bengal.[115] At Bhagalpur they met the Mughal army retreating from Bengal. The latter became dismayed and confused at the arrival of the imperial force under Khan Jahan and Todar Mal. Unwilling either to go back to Bengal, the scene of their discomfiture and suffering or to proceed to the royal court for fear of imperial punishment for their cowardly and treacherous behaviour, they refused to march with Khan Jahan on the pretext of the refractoriness of the people and the pestilential climate of Bengal causing huge mortality. Some even raised the question of religion and refused to accept Khan Jahan, a *Shia*, as their leader. Todar Mal's judicious handling of the situation served to save the critical situation. It was he who was able ultimately to persuade the reluctant army to join Khan Jahan in his mission. The unusual tolerance showed by Khan Jahan also contributed to this happy culmination.[116]

Isma'il Quli Khan,[117] brother of Khan Jahan, captured Teliagarhi after a quick march. The unexpected fall of Teliagarhi surprised Daud Khan. At once he took defensive measures and the advancing Mughal army found their path blocked at Rajmahal.[118]

Scholars differ as to who had selected Rajmahal as the site for entrenchment. But all the contemporary authors clearly state that it was Daud who had selected Rajmahal as the place for encampment.[119] Daud's selection of Rajmahal

115 A. N. III. p. 162.

116. Ibid.

117. Isma'il Quli Khan was the brother of Khan Jahan. He was made governor of Gujarat in Akbar's 33rd regnal year / 1588-89, and *vakil* of prince Murad in the 36th regnal year / 1591-92. He was a *mansabdar* of 4000. M. U. I. pp. 105-107, Blochmann. p. 388.

118. Rajmahal was the headquarters of the sub-division of the same name in Santal Parganas district, Bihar, situated in 25° 3' N and 87° 50' E on the right bank of the Ganges. D. G. Santal Parganas (1910). pp. 273-74. See Map III.

119. It is clearly stated by Abu-l-Fazl that Daud had chosen

as the site for the ensuing encounter was very wise. Its strategic importance lay in the fact that it was a difficult place to capture. Rajmahal was, according to Abu-l-Fazl, fortified on one side by the Ganges and on the other side access was impeded by lofty hills, while in front the tracks were effaced by an extensive marsh. Apart from its being a strong refuge it was in the forefront of Bengal.[120] Abu-l-Fazl's description is in agreement with the reality. The Ganges turns here almost at a right angle and flows to the south bordering the Rajmahal sub-division. Rajmahal was about 25 miles direct north-west from Tanda, the then capital of Bengal, and occupied the central position between Bengal and Bihar. Moreover, it commanded the Ganges and the pass of Teliagarhi. Thus Rajmahal had natural barrier on two sides while it was very difficult and troublesome for any invading army to enter and launch attack from the front, which was full of marshes.[121]

Let us now try to ascertain the possible site of Daud's encampment. Rajmahal was a big area and the city of Rajmahal, built by Raja Man Singh 19 years later (A. D. 1595),[122] lies on the right bank of the Ganges. The more

Ak Mahal (Rajmahal) as the site for encampment. A. N. III. p. 162. Arif Qandahari (M. A, Q. p. 213), Nizamu-d-din (T. A. II. p. 324) and Badayuni (M. T. II. p. 229) state the same thing. Acharya Jadunath Sarkar (*History of Bengal* II. p. 194) and Dr. N. K. Bhattasali accept this version. *Bengal Past And Present*. XXXVI. pt. I. p. 10 But Mr. Beveridge writes : "The text (of the A. N.) is wrongly punctuated and makes it appear as if it was Daud who encamped at Ak Mahal". He translates the sentence as the following : "By alertness and dexterity Khan Jahan chose for his camp Ak Mahal...". A. N. III. Eng. Tr. p. 230 and n 2. He has been followed by V. A. Smith (*Akbar The Great Mogul*. p. 103) and Dr. A. L. Srivastava (*Akbar The Great*. I. p. 193). As Mr. Beveridge's view is not borne out by the contemporary evidence we are unable to accept it.

120. A. N. III. pp. 162-63 ; T. II. p. 324 ; M. T. II. p. 229.

121. I. G. XXI. pp. 77-78.

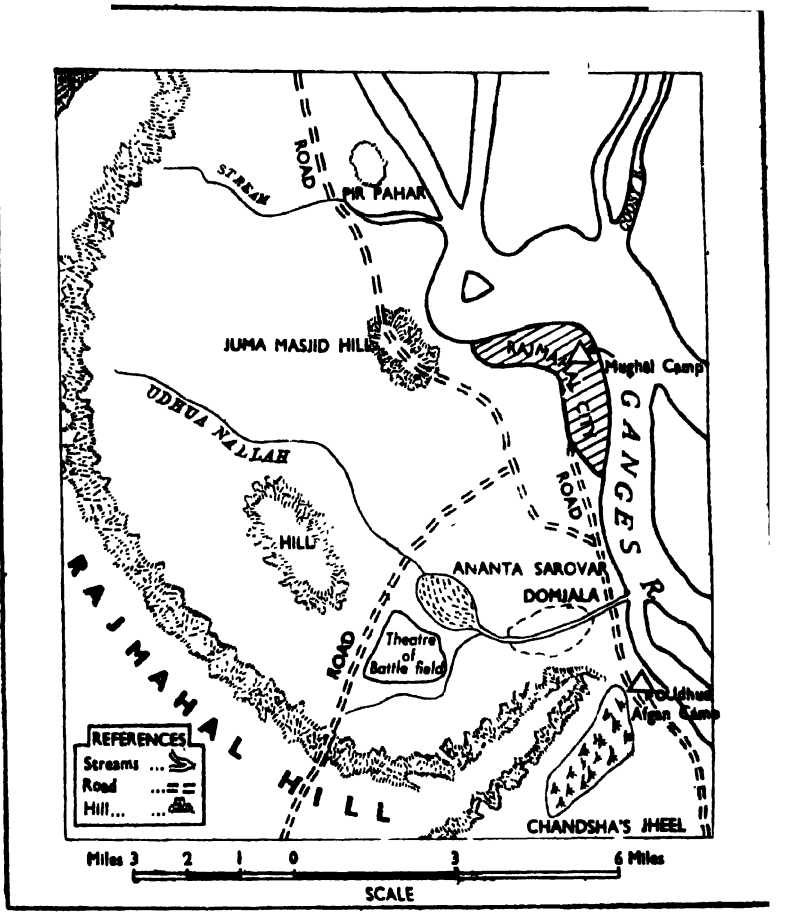
122. A. N. III. p. 697.

or less plain area where the city is situated, is about 8 miles in width and slopes down from the foot of the hills to the bank of the Ganges with the exception of some isolated hills here and there. At about 6 miles south of the city is a little deep stream, called Uduanallah, that rises from the Rajmahal hills and merges into the Ganges draining through the marshes, Ananta Sarovar and Domjc a, on the west. Its banks are sharp and lofty. Just south of it is a place, called Udua, which derives its name from the little stream. A steep spur of the Rajmahal hills narrows down the plain here into two miles. This narrow passage is again divided into two parts by an isolated hill that lies between the Ganges and the steep spur. Udua has a strong position because it commands the only road, old Murshidabad or Trunk Road, leading from Bengal to Bihar through Rajmahal. It has the Ganges on the east and a large lake (Chandashaheb *jhil*) on the west. The *jhil* covers not only the entire approach from Bengal to the western part of the narrow pass but also a considerable portion of the eastern part.[123] As Daud had to come to Rajmahal through the narrow passage where lies Udua, he perceived its strong position. Abu-l-Fazl states that after crossing a deep black stream the Mughals attacked the Afghans.[124] Further, he writes : "Also they (the Mughals) did not like the prospect of fighting on account of the strength of the enemy's position."[125] All these strongly suggest that Daud had encamped at Udua.

Khan Jahan arranged his army in battle array. But conditions inside his camp did not permit Khan Jahan to launch an immediate attack upon the enemy which had taken up its position at a place which was full of natural barriers. The dissensions inside the Mughal camp, which Todar Mal had tried to settle before, reappeared and most

123. D. G. Santal Parganas (1910). pp. 273-75. See Map III.
124. A. N. III. pp. 180-81.
125. Ibid. p. 179 ; Eng. Tr. p. 251.

Map to Illustrate the Battle of Rajmahal



of the officers and men were unwilling to fight. They put forward one pretext after another in order to avoid a frontal battle. Firstly, they refused to fight on grounds of caste and religion. Most of the men of the army were *Chaghtais* and *Sunnis*. So they were reluctant to wage war under the leadership of Khan Jahan who was *Qizilbash* and a *Shia*. Secondly, they were afraid of going back to Bengal where there was the prevalence of pestilence which had recently played havoc in their ranks. They, therefore, tried their best not to face any battle. They also pleaded that it would be unwise to fight the enemy who was entrenched in an advantageous position and had improved his ranks both in quantity and quality.[126]

For the second time within a short period it was Todar Mal who endeavoured along with Khan Jahan to surmount the crisis. Undaunted by difficulties this loyal and devoted officer showed grim determination in carrying out his master's order, and took steps to pacify the disgruntled generals and soldiers and infuse fighting spirit in them. But all this was in vain.[127]

There was no pitched battle. But skirmishes went on between the belligerents. Several months passed in this way. At last the calamitous rainy season of Bengal set in. The swollen rivers became turbulent. Foodgrains were scarce. Prices of commodities soared up. Life in the Mughal camp became full of hardships. The efficiency and morale of the army suffered considerably. All these hardened the spirit of aversion to fight among the disloyal and cowardly elements of the army.[128]

Having no other alternative than to seek the help of the army of Bihar, Khan Jahan and Todar Mal sent messages to the emperor. Mounted couriers maintained contact with the emperor. News moved to and fro. The emperor immediately ordered the Bihar garrison under Muzaffar

126. A. N. III. pp. 178-79.
127. Ibid. p. 179.
128. Ibid. pp. 168, 178-79.

Khan Turbati to proceed forthwith to Rajmahal and reinforce the Bengal army poised against the Afghans there. But the governor was then sunk in idle pleasures. Moreover, as the army of Khan Jahan was running short of supplies, the emperor also ordered despatch of boats loaded with money and equipments to Bengal.[129]

The situation was aggravated by the rebellious conduct of Gajapati, the *zamindar* of Bhojpur.[130] He rose in rebellion in order to avenge the maltreatment that he received at the hands of the Mughals. Not only did he plunder several cities, capture Arrah[131] and adjoining territories, but he even entered into a treasonable collusion with Daud Khan and tried to cut off the lines of communication of the Mughal army at Rajmahal. On receiving these news, Akbar sent a detachment under Shahbaz Khan[132] against Gajapati. Shahbaz Khan in conjunction with the local Mughal officers defeated Gajapati and thus crushed the rebellion.[133]

Meanwhile, pressed by the emperor's special messengers, the reluctant Muzaffar Khan marched from Patna towards Rajmahal and reached Bhagalpur along with some important officers viz., Shuja'at Khan, Muhibb 'Ali

129. A. N. III. pp. 168, 179.

130. Gajapati belonged to Ujjainia Rajputs who had established their kingdom at Bhojpur and its neighbouring territories in the 14th century. Gajapati, who had accepted the Mughal suzerainty and helped the Mughals during their previous Bihar campaign, ruled at Bhojpur from 1590 to 1633 *Samvat* / 1533-34 to 1576-77. *The Khyats of Patalpota* (transcribed from O. P. L., Patna). pp. 8-10 and also see the Genealogical Table.

131. Arrah is the administrative headquarters of Sahabad district, Bihar, situated in 25° 34′ N and 84° 40′ E. D. G. Sahabad (1966). p. 784.

132. Shahbaz Khan was appointed *mir bakhshi* in Akbar's 16th regnal year / 1571-72. He was granted the rank of 2000 and died in 1599. M. U. II. pp. 590-601 ; Blochmann pp. 436-40.

133. A. N. III. pp. 168-70.

Khan,[184] Ma'sum Khan Kabuli,[185] Mir Mu'izzu-l-mulk Samanji Khan[186] and Mirzada 'Ali Khan.[187] At Bhagalpur Muzaffar Khan adopted delaying tactics and wanted to pass the rainy season in idleness. But Muhibb 'Ali, the imperial *sazawal*, arrived from the court and forced him to resume the march.[188]

At long last the Bihar garrison united with the Bengal army at Rajmahal on 10th July, 1576.[189] After a discussion between the respective commanders, Muzaffar Khan and Khan Jahan, the combined forces advanced in the following order on the next day : the Van, commanded by Shaham Khan, Murad Khan and others ; the Advance Reserve under Isma'il Quli Khan, Qiya Khan and others ; the Centre under Khan Jahan and the Right Wing led by Muzaffar Khan. Todar Mal commanded the Left Wing and was assisted by Jabbari,[140] Baba Khan Qaqshal, I'timad Khan Khwajasara and others.[141]

On the Afghan side Khan Jahan, the ruler of Orissa, and Qatlu Lohani led the Van and Daud Khan commanded the

134. Muhibb 'Ali Khan Rohtasi attained the rank of 1000 under Akbar. As he was the governor of the fort, Rohtas, for a long time, he became known as Rohtasi. He died in 1589. M. U. III. pp. 277-80 . Blochmann. p. 466.

135. Ma'sum Khan Kabuli was granted the rank of 1000. He was the leader of the rebellion of the Mughal officers in Bengal. He died in 1599. M. U. III. pp. 292-96 ; Blochmann. p. 476nl.

136. Samanji Khan was a grandee of Humayun . under Akbar he attained the rank of 2000. M. U. II. pp. 401-402 ; Blochmann. pp. 489-90.

137. Mirzada 'Ali Khan was an officer of 900 under Akbar and died in the 32nd regnal year / 1587-88 ; Blochmann. p. 491.

138. A. N. III. p. 179. The particular of Muhibb 'Ali, the imperial *sazawal*, cannot be traced out.

139. A. N. III. p. 180 ; Eng. Tr. p. 252.

140. Jabbari was the son of Majnun Khan Qaqshal and served under the Mughals. M. U. I. pp. 391-92 ; Blochmann. p. 400.

141. A. N. III. p. 180.

Centre. Kala Pahar headed the Right Wing and Junaid Karrani took up position in the Left Wing.[143]

The rains had flooded the entire area and so the Mughals could not march through the regular road across the Uduanallah to Udua where Daud was entrenched. They had to find out an alternative way by making a detour to the west. The Mughals marched parallel to the western Rajmahal hill keeping the slopes of the Rajmahal hill on the south. Abu-l-Fazl writes : "When they had gone some distance, there appeared before them a deep black stream."[144] Further, he states : "In a short space of time the mystic rays lighted up their faces with joy and that difficult stream became fordable....when the enemy perceived what had happened they prepared for battle."[144] Thus, according to Abu-l-Fazl, the Mughals crossed the Uduanallah not at Udua but at some other point ; otherwise, the Afghans would have known their movements and tried their best to prevent them from crossing it. The Mughals seemed to march through a road similar to the one as shown in Rennel's Map which starting from Rajmahal city came to the bank of Uduanallah on the north-west of the marshes called Ananta Sarovar and Domjola and crossed the stream at this point and thus turned the Afghan flank. The battle, therefore, took place somewhere in the area between Ananta Sarovar and the Rajmahal hills.[145]

The battle was fought on 12th July, 1576,[146] the Mughal battle-array being the same as during the march.

It is to the credit of Todar Mal that it was his Left Wing that was the first to cross the nallah. Baba Khan Qaqshal

142. A. N. III. p. 180.

143. Ibid. Eng. Tr. p. 253.

144. Ibid.

145. See Map III.

146. A. N. III. p. 180 ; Eng. Tr. p. 253. Sometime it was the practice that the line-up drawn up for the battle-march had been kept in tact during the battle itself. This was the case during the Rajmahal battle.

and his army were followed by Jabbari, Todar Mal and all other men of the Left Wing. The surprised Afghans had to make a quick realignment of their battle order and face the invading army. Kala Pahar, the commander of their Right Wing, charged Baba Khan's army and forced it to retreat. Jabbari then came up with his soldiers to attack the Afghans. A hot engagement took place. The Mughals were about to recoil when Todar Mal came forward with his men and saved the situation. Putting all his skill into action, the Raja severely attacked Kala Pahar's force and the fight turned into a hand to hand encounter. Ultimately Kala Pahar was wounded and put to flight along with his men. The victorious troops did not pursue the fleeing Afghans as they were unaware of the position of the other parts of the Mughal army and the lands before them were marshy.[147]

Meanwhile, ill luck befell the Afghan Left Wing. Its leader Junaid Karrani, the most courageous and able general on the Afghan side, who was wounded by a cannon ball on the previous night, expired before doing anything and the leaderless soldiers of the Afghan Left Wing left the battle field without fighting.[148]

Elsewhere, the Mughal Van and the Advance Reserve successfully crushed the Afghan Van and killed its commander Khan Jahan, the Afghan governor of Orissa. The disastrous rout compelled Daud Khan, the head of the Afghan Centre, to turn his back. But he could not go far as his horse "stuck in a quagmire". He was seized and eventually executed before Khan Jahan. His severed head was then sent to Akbar.[149]

Thus ended the career of the last Afghan Sultan of Bengal and with it ceased the centralised and unified Afghan resistance in this part of the country. It was highly

147. A. N. III. p. 181.
148. Ibid.
149. Ibid. pp. 182-83.

creditable on the part of Khan Jahan and Todar Mal to have the authority of the Mughals re-established over Bengal. The Afghan resistance, however, continued for long. The country could be subjugated only after a prolonged and sustained effort under Jahangir.

It is thus evident that Todar Mal, whose assistance was once again sought, helped Khan Jahan in crushing Daud's rebellion and re-establishing Mughal authority over Bengal. At every critical moment of the campaign he displayed unshaken loyalty, courage and determination. Twice he helped Khan Jahan by his tact in persuading the dispirited Mughal officers and men to march towards Bengal and wage war. He made creditable contribution in achieving victory at the battle of Rajmahal. His timely intervention at the moment when the armies under Baba Khan Qaqshal and Jabbari were in a precarious position, not only overcame the crisis but also turned the fate of the battle decisively in favour of the Mughals.

CHAPTER VI

SECOND GUJARAT CAMPAIGN

No contemporary writer except Abu-l-Fazl refers to Todar Mal's activities after the Mughal victory at Rajmahal on 12th July, 1576. Even Abu-l-Fazl merely mentions that Todar Mal had Khwaja Shah Mansur, the *diwan* of the deceased Mun'im Khan, "arrested and enchained on account of questions about accounts".[1]

Leaving Bengal sometime thereafter, Todar Mal, along with I'timad Khan Khwajasara, arrived at Banswara[2] in Rajasthan in the last week of December, 1576 and paid homage to the emperor then encamping there on his way from Ajmere to Malwa. He offered to him many valuable presents including 304 elephants he had brought from Bengal and submitted a report on the situation there.[3] From Banswara Todar Mal accompanied the emperor up to Dipalpur[4] from where he was sent to Gujarat in March, 1577.[5]

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1. A. N. III. p. 193 , M. U. I. p. 654.

2. Banswara was the capital of the former state of the same name in Rajasthan, situated in 23° 33′ N and 74° 27′ E. I. G. VI. p. 41.

3. A. N. III p. 196 ; T. A. II. p. 329.

4. This Dipalpur should not be confused with Dipalpur *tahsil* in Montogomary district of the united Punjab. It was, according to Nizamu-d-din and Badayuni, a dependency of the *subah* of Malwa. Abu-l-Fazl also mentions Dipalpur as one of the *mahals* of the *sarkar* Ujjain in the province of Malwa. Ain. I. p. 407. It seems that Dipalpur was somewhere between Ujjain and Ratlam, another *mahal* of *sarkar* Ujjain, mentioned just after it. It should be borne in mind that Akbar went to Dipalpur from Banswara and again, Badayuni went to Dipalpur by way of Gwalior, Sarangpur and Ujjain. M. T. II. p 243. All these together suggest that in comparison with Ujjain, Dipalpur was nearer to Banswara.

5. A. N III. p. 198 ; T. A. II. p. 330 · M. T. II. 244.

What were the reasons which led Akbar to despatch Todar Mal to Gujarat ? First, the emperor wanted to tone up the general administration there. That province was in "a disturbed state". Wazir Khan, its *de facto* administrator since March, 1576,[6] was not only careless but also "not efficient in the matters of organising the soldiers, comforting the weak and extirpating evil-doers".[7] He had failed to organise an efficient army and create conditions in which the poor and ordinary people could enjoy peace and security. Hence the emperor ordered "skilful and trusty men to go there quickly and endeavour to put it in order with the aid of the officers of the country."[8]

Abu-l-Fazl does not clarify the term "evil-doers". But a critical study of the contemporary and later writers enables us to determine the various elements comprising the sources of trouble. They included (1) some disgruntled *zamindars* (2) the rebellious Mirzas who were close relatives of Mirza Kamran, Akbar's uncle, and dispossessed of their authority by the emperor, and their associates, (3) a section of populace comprising persons who were hostile to the Mughals and always on the look for disturbances and a number of homeless vagabonds and (4) a few of imperial officers and men of doubtful loyalty.

That a section of *zamindars* was dissatisfied with Wazir Khan will be clear from the details relating to the

6. The emperor appointed 'Abdu-r-Rahim Khan, the son of Bairam Khan and sometimes called as Mirza Khan, the governor of Gujarat in March, 1576. But as Mirza Khan was then only 20 years old, the emperor appointed Wazir Khan as Mirza Khan's deputy and the *de facto* administrator of the province. At the same time, he appointed Mir 'Alau-d-din the *amin*, Bipak Das the *diwan* and Mir Muzaffar the *bakhshi* of the province. A. N. III. pp. 165-66.

7. A. N. III. p. 207 ; Eng. Tr. p. 292.

8. A. N. III. p. 198 ; Eng. Tr. p. 280.

submission of the *zamindar* of Ramnagar[9] to Todar Mal at Broach[10] as explained later.[11]

Secondly, there were the rebellious Mirzas. Ibrahim Husain Mirza was defeated by Akbar at the battle of Sarnel in December, 1572. On getting this news Gulrukh Begam, the wife of Ibrahim Husain Mirza and daughter of Mirza Kamran, Akbar's uncle, fled from the fort of Surat, then besieged by the Mughal army, to the Deccan with her young son, Muzaffar Husain Mirza.[12] Historically speaking, there was enmity between Mirza Kamran and Humayun and therefore, it was a hereditary conflict. Taking advantage of the anarchic condition and weak and inefficient rule of Wazir Khan, the *de facto* governor of Gujarat, Mihr 'Ali Kulabi, a servant of Ibrahim Husain Mirza, and some of his companions brought Muzaffar Husain Mirza from the Deccan to Gujarat and raised the banner of rebellion in the latter's name.[13]

Thirdly, that a section of populace was hostile to the Mughals is revealed from the account of Nizamu-d-din. He writes that when Mihr 'Ali Kulabi engineered the rebellion, "a number of evil minded men and homeless wanderers gathered round him and turned the face of revolt and hostility towards Gujarat,"[14] He further states: "Owing to this disturbance and revolt, men, who were always ready to create disaffection, raised their heads in every corner and a wonderful state of disturbance and rebellion was produced."[15]

9. Ramnagar's present name is Dharampur. It was a native state in Surat Political Agency, Bombay. The city of Dharampur is situated in 20° 34' N and 73° 14' E. I. G. XI. pp. 296-97. See Map IV.

10. Broach is the headquarters of the district of the same name in Gujarat, situatd in 21° 42' N and 72° 59' E on the right bank of the Narmada river, about 30 miles from its mouth. I. G. IX. pp. 28-29.

11. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*. I. p. 134.

12. A. N. III. p. 206 ; T. A. II. p. 331 ; M. T. II p. 249.

13. A. N. III. pp. 206, 207 . T. A. II. p. 331 ; M. T. II. p. 249.

14. T. A. II. p. 331 ; Eng. Tr. p. 501. Also M. T. II. p. 249.

15. T. A. II. p. 331 ; Eng. Tr. p. 501.

Lastly, there were the Mughal officers and men of doubtful loyalty. Abu-l-Fazl himself vaguely states in connection with the disturbances at Sultanpur[16] that "some of the comrades of 'Arif and Zahid, the sons of Sharif Khan, placed the stain of infidelity on their foreheads and joined Mihr 'Ali."[17] This indicates that a section of Mughal officers was also dissatisfied with the provincial authority.

The second objective of Akbar was to reform the revenue system in Gajarat. Nizamu-d-din states: "Raja Todar Mal was deputed to check the revenue assessment and to arrange the affairs of the country of Gujarat."[18] Badayuni[19] and 'Ali Muhammad Khan[20] also support his statement. But the question is: what prompted Akbar to check the assessment of the revenue? None of the above mentioned writers is clear on this point. It appears that probably the revenue system, as organised by Todar Mal in 1573 after the second Gujarat campaign of the emperor, had broken down not only owing to the famine and pestilence that ravaged the province in 1574-75 but also because of the corrupt and inefficient administration. All this caused difficulties to the peasantry and in collecting the estimated revenue. That is why it was necessary to check the entire assessment of the revenue.

To sum up, it became necessary (i) to organise an army, (ii) to win the confidence of some local landlords and a

16. Sultanpur is a village in the Sahada *taluka* of West Khandesh district, Bombay, situated in 21° 38' N and 74° 35' E. I. G. XXIII. p. 138. Under Akbar it was a *mahal* of *sarkar* Nandurbar in the province of Malwa. Ain. II. Eng. Tr. p. 210.

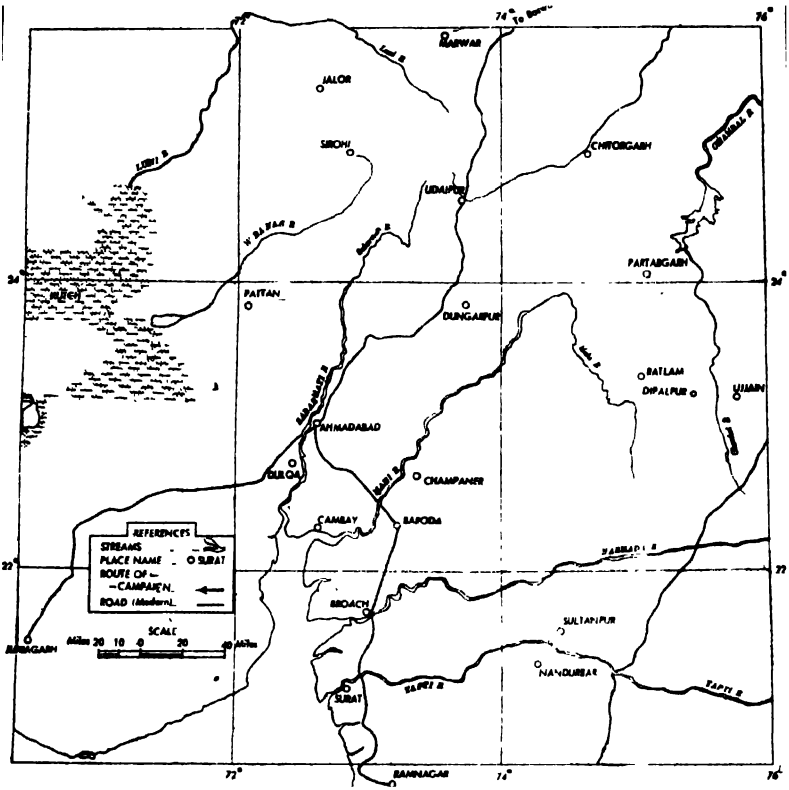
17. A. N. III. p. 207 ; Eng Tr. p. 292.

18. T. A. II. p. 330 ; Eng. Tr. pp. 498-99.

19. Badayuni states : "At that station Raja Todar Mal together with I'timad Khan of Gujarat was appointed to look into the revenue of the country of Gujarat and into the stores of that kingdom." M. T. II. p. 244 ; Eng. Tr. p. 251. It is difficult to ascertain the implication of the words 'the stores of that kingdom' as mentioned by Badayuni.

20. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*. I. p. 135

Map ot Illustrate Todar Mal's Gujarat Campaigns



section of populace, (iii) to crush all types of disturbances, (iv) to restore peace and security and (v) to check the revenue assessment.

All these problems demanded the presence of an experienced statesman who could set them aright. The emperor's choice, therefore, fell on Todar Mal, who had already made his mark as one of the most capable and sincere officers in the empire. He was ordered to proceed to Gujarat and exert himself in settling all the above mentioned problems. The emperor also sent several other officers to assist the Raja in fulfilling the task. Accordingly Todar Mal went to Gujarat immediately and set himself to work with the seriousness and sincerity demanded by the situation.[21]

There is controversy regarding the route which Todar Mal followed in entering Gujarat and also regarding his movements within it. According to Abu-l-Fazl, Todar Mal proceeded from Dipalpur in a south-westward direction and at first, went to Sultanpur and Nandurbar.[22] Next he visited Surat on the west and then moving northward he reached Ahmadabad via Broach, Baroda[23] and Champaner.[24]

Differing from Abu-l-Fazl, 'Ali Muhammad Khan says that Todar Mal went to Gujarat via Rajasthan and that on his way from Dipalpur to Gujarat he halted at Jalor[25] where

21. A. N. III. p. 207 ; T. A. II. p. 330 , M. T. II. p. 244.

22. Nandurbar was a *taluka* of West Khandesh district, Bombay, lying between 21° and 21° 32' N and 73° 35' and 74° 31' E. I G. XVIII. pp. 361-62. Under Akbar it was a *sarkar* in the province of Malwa. Ain. II. Eng. Tr. p. 219.

23. Baroda was the capital of the former Baroda state, situated in 22° 18' N and 73° 15' E on the Vishwamitra river. I. G. VII. p. 81.

24. A. N. III. p. 207. Champaner was a ruined city in the Kalol *taluka* of the Panch Mahal district. Bombay situated in 22° 29' N and 73° 32' E, 25 miles north of Baroda. In 1535 it was pillaged by Humayun. Ibid. X. pp.-135-36. See Map IV.

25. Jalor was the headquarters of the district of the same name in the state of Jodhpur, Rajasthan, situated in 35° 21' N and 72° 37' E, Ibid. XIV. p. 29.

the *zamindar* of Sirohi[26] submitted to him. 'Ali Muhammad Khan further states that on reaching Gujarat the Raja proceeded southward and reached Surat via Broach. Todar Mal then went to Pattan[27] on the north. Both Nizamu-d-din and Badayuni have also mentioned Todar Mal's visit to Pattan while Abu-l-Fazl is silent about it.[28]

Abu-l-Fazl's version with the exception of his silence about Todar Mal's visit to Pattan seems to be more logical and therefore, acceptable. Abu-l-Fazl was the official historian as well as a contemporary writer. He gives a more detailed description of the route through which Todar Mal had travelled and this was a much shorter way to reach the province. As there was urgency, it was quite natural that he would march to Gujarat through the shorter route. On the other hand, the path through Rajasthan was a round about and longer one. There was no logic behind Todar Mal's proceeding through this route during the time of urgency. Moreover, it is hardly acceptable that in Gujarat he had, at first, gone to Surat leaving behind not only Ahmadabad, the provincial capital, but also Pattan which stood on his way to Surat and where he went afterwards. But the probability of Todar Mal's stay at Pattan as mentioned by 'Ali Muhammad Khan cannot altogether be ruled out as the two contemporary authors, Nizamu-d-din and Badayuni, also hold the same view.

In absence of specific mention, it is difficult to ascertain the measures, with the exception of one or two, adopted by Todar Mal to solve the problems mentioned above and effect a settlement in Gujarat. Abu-l-Fazl uses some general and vague terms like "made proper arrangements",

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26. The state of Sirohi was situated in the north-west of Rajasthan. The city of Sirohi lies between 24° 53' N and 27° 53' E. I. G. XXIII. pp. 28, 37.

27. Pattan, the headquarters of the *taluka* of the same name in Gujarat, is situated in 23° 51° N and 72° 10' E. I. G. XX. p. 24.

28. T. A. II. p. 331 ; M. T. II. p. 249 ; *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*. I. p. 135.

"settled the affairs" and "transacted the affairs".[29] Nizamu-d-din ambiguously states that the Raja was "engaged in settling and testing the land revenue of the country".[30] Badayuni is silent about the measures and so also 'Ali Muhammad Khan with the exception of one. The Raja, according to him, won the confidence of a section of disgruntled *zamindars* and allured them to the imperial service by offering high ranking posts of *mansabdar* and valuable presents on behalf of the court.[31] It is, of course, evident from all the said authors that Todar Mal applied force and made a determined effort to suppress the rebellion of the Mirzas which broke out during his stay at Gujarat. He showed no hesitation in taking strong military measures.[32]

On reaching Gujarat from Dipalpur, Todar Mal quickly settled the matters in Sultanpur, Nandurbar and Surat respectively. He then proceeded towards Broach. The news of Todar Mal's arrival in the province seemed to cause a change in the attitude of some of the disgruntled *zamindars* who, at least, considered it expedient to proffer submission to the Raja. 'Ali Muhammad Khan states that when Todar Mal came near Broach, the *zamindar* of Ramnagar met him and promised to serve the governor of Gujarat. As a wise gesture of winning him over, the Raja secured for the *zamindar* the rank of 1500 *monsabdar*.[33] After properly conducting the affairs of Broach, Baroda and Champaner, Todar Mal went to Ahmadabad. When at Ahmadabad the Raja in conjunction with Wazir Khan, according to Abu-l-Fazl, was engaged in redressing the grievances of the people, the Mirzas rose in rebellion.[34]

29. A. N. III. p. 207.

30. T. A. II. p. 331 ; Eng. Tr. p. 501.

31. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*. I. p. 134.

32. A. N. III. pp. 207-209 ; T. A. II. pp. 331-32 ; M. T. II. 249-50 ; *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*. I. pp. 134-35.

33. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*. I. p. 134.

34. A. N. III. p 207.

But other contemporary and later writers differ from Abu-l-Fazl regarding the place of Todar Mal's residence when the rebellion of the Mirzas broke out. Nizamu-d-din states that the Mirzas rebelled at the time when "Raja Todar Mal was at Pattan, engaged in settling and testing the land revenue of the country".[35] Badayuni[36] and 'Ali Muhammad Khan are of the same opinion.[37] The latter also states that the Raja went to Pattan with the intention of leaving Gujarat after ascertaining the revenue assessment of that city.[38]

It has already been stated that in all probability Todar Mal visited Pattan. Further, it seems logical from the rebels' attitude towards Todar Mal that they raised their heads when Todar Mal was at Pattan, because they did not dare to do so when he visited the places preceding Ahmadabad. This indicates that they were afraid of the Raja and dared to rebel only when they came to know that the Raja was to leave the province. It is, therefore, difficult to accept that they would rise in rebellion during his stay at the provincial headquarters.

The rebels, at first, rose in the neighbourhood of Sultanpur and were joined by some imperial officers and men. They then went towards Baroda. That great city fell into the hands of the rebels without any opposition as it was deserted in panic by the head of the local garrison at the approach of the rebels. At Sarnel, Baz Bahadur of Malwa, who had already joined Mughal service, tried to stem their advance but could not succeed due to the treachery in the ranks of his servants.[39] At Ahmadabad Wazir Khan had under his command 3000 cavalry.

35. T. A. II. p. 331 , Eng. Tr. p. 501.
36. M. T. II. p. 249.
37. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*. I. p 135.
38. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*. I. p. 135.
39. A. N. III. p. 207 ; T. A. II. p. 331 . M. T. II. p. 249 ; *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*. I. p. 135.

But being doubtful of the loyalty of many of them, he got nervous at the success of the rebels and decided to shut himself inside the safe shelter of the fort of Ahmadabad. He, of course, sent a report of the events to Todar Mal, who was, at that time, engaged in settling the revenue matters at Pattan, and sought for his help.

On receiving Wazir Khan's report Todar Mal immediately came back to Ahmadabad. He refused to take a cowardly stand and decided to face the situation boldly. Accordingly he proceeded to Baroda along with Wazir Khan to quell the disturbances there. This came to the notice of the rebels when Todar Mal and his forces were at a distance of 8 miles from the city. The rebels became panicky and fled to Cambay.[40] They besieged that port-city as the imperial army was pursuing them slowly. Saiyid Hashim, the Mughal collector of that region, (*'amil-i-khalsa*) tried in vain to dislodge them. But on the approach of the imperial forces under Todar Mal and Wazir Khan they abandoned the siege and went towards Junagarh.[41] The latter overtook them at Dulqa[42] on 5th or 6th June, 1577,[43] and decided to force a battle. The imperial army took up position in the following order. Todar Mal, assisted by a group of able and brave men, commanded the Left Wing. Wazir Khan took charge of the Centre and Khwaja Yahya Naqshbandi and Wajiha-ul-mulk were on the Right Wing.

40. Cambay was the capital of the formerly state of Cambay, situated in 22° 18' N and 72° 40' E at the head of the Gulf of Cambay, on the north of the estuary of the river Mahi, 52 miles south of Ahmadabad. I. G. IX. p. 296.

41. Junagarh was the capital of the former state of the same name in Gujarat, situated in 21° 31' N and 70° 36' E I. G. XIV. p. 239.

42. Dulqa or Dholka is the headquarters of the *taluka* of the same name in Ahmadabad district, Gujarat, situated in 22° 44' N and 72° 27' E, 28 miles southwest of Ahmadabad city. I. G. XI. p. 321. See Map IV.

43. A. N. III. p. 208. As Abu-l-Fazl has given the *Ilahi* date whose corresponding Christian date is difficult to ascertain properly, we have given the two probable dates.

But its efficiency was weakened by the fear and disloyalty which prevailed among the rank and file of the imperial army. So to take advantage of the situation, the rebels regained courage and proceeded to meet them. They assumed that a bold and determined stand on their part would so stave away the Mughal troops that they would either cross side or take to flight. This, they expected, would enable them not only to defeat Todar Mal and Wazir Khan but also the remaining army. Again, they considered that the mainstay of the imperial forces was Todar Mal. He was not only a brave and able general but a loyalist to the core and whose force was consisted of some of the best and experienced officers and soldiers who were determined to do business irrespective of any type of danger and even at the cost of their lives. Their main endeavour was, therefore, to kill Todar Mal and destroy his Left Wing. Accordingly the Mirza proceeded in a languid manner against Wazir Khan, while Mihr 'Ali, who was the ablest man among the rebels, marched against the Raja with the cream of his troops.[44]

The rebels' tactics succeeded initially because the men of the Right wing of the imperial army deserted the battle field without fighting and most of the officers and men of the Centre followed the suit. But these tactics failed to snatch victory from the courageous and mature leadership of Raja Todar Mal. He stubbornly withstood all the attacks of the main body of the rebels under Mihr 'Ali and ultimately put the latter's force to flight. Wazir Khan courageously made a determined and valiant stand with only a handful of loyal followers against Muzaffar Husain Mirza. Then Todar Mal came to the rescue of the governor and saved him from the very jaws of death. The arrival and attack of Todar Mal's force made the Mirza panicky. Leaving the field, he hastened towards Junagarh. Many of the rebels were killed and imprisoned.

44. A. N. III. p. 208.

Among them were several women archers disguised in men's clothes. Thus the imperial army was able to secure a victory due to the valour and able leadership of Raja Todar Mal.[45]

The victorious army obtained a huge booty by plundering the Mirza's camp. Todar Mal reported the matter and sent all the articles together with choice elephants to the emperor through his son Dharu. After a few days he left Gujarat. Rana Sheshmat, the *zamindar* of Dungarpur,[46] met him on the way. Todar Mal honoured the Rana with a dress, a horse of Mirtha (Merta)[47] and the rank of 2500 horse.[48]

Thus Todar Mal was able to fulfil the emperor's desire of quelling the disturbances. He also successfully settled the administrative problems. That is why Abu-l-Fazl comments: "He hastened there and showed the jewel of his abilities to mankind. The inhabitants and the visitors of the province enjoyed prosperity".[49] In conclusion it can be said that in Gujarat Todar Mal demonstrated his ability not only as a military general but also as an able and tactful administrator skilled in arts of conciliating different sections of the people. His persuasive tongue and restrained and flexible attitude enabled him in winning over the disgruntled *zamindar* of Ramnagar at Broach.

Todar Mal met and paid homage to the emperor at Basawar[50] sometime early in the month of September, 1577. Akbar received and honoured him with favour. Todar Mal

45. A N. III. pp. 208-209; T. A. II. pp. 331-32; M. T. II. p. 249; *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*. I. pp. 135-36.

46. Dungarpur was a state in south Rajasthan lying between 23° 20' and 24° N and 72° 22' and 74° 23' E. I. G. XI. p. 379.

47. Mirtha (Merta) was the headquarters of the district of the same name in the state of Jodhpur, Rajasthan, situated in 26° 39' N and 74° 2' E. I. G. XVII. p. 308.

48. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*. I. p. 136.

49. A. N. III. p. 198; Eng. Tr. p. 280.

50. Basawar is identified with Baswa. A. N. III. Eng. Tr. Index.

reported to the emperor the happenings of Gujarat in detail and presented before him the enchained prisoners of war along with their ring leader Dauda Beg. All the trouble-makers were put to death. Todar Mal was, once again, entrusted with the affairs of *wazirship* and remained in company with the emperor in his journey to Ajmer.[51]

p. 61. Baswa was the headquarters of the *tahsil* of the same name in Daosa Nizamat of the state, Jaipur, Rajasthan and situated in 27' 9' N and 76° 36' E. I. G. VII. p. 132.

51. A. N. III. p. 213.

CHAPTER VII

CAMPAIGNS IN BIHAR

I. Causes of Rebellion in Bihar and Bengal and the Activities of the Rebels before Todar Mal's Arrival in Bihar

For about two years and a half since his return from the Gujarat campaign in September, 1577, Todar Mal remained engaged in some administrative works about which very little is known. Of the contemporary authors Abu-l-Fazl alone refers to a few of his activities. These will be related subsequently under appropriate heads.

Todar Mal resumed his military activities in March, 1580[1] when the emperor sent him to Bihar to quell the disturbances and rebellions there. To have a clear picture of the situation in which Todar Mal had to conduct his campaigns in Bihar, it is necessary to discuss the various factors that lay behind the disturbances and rebellions in Bihar as well as Bengal, for the rebellions in both the provinces soon became interlinked.

Certain policies recently adopted by the imperial government were responsible for the disquietude in these provinces. First, the strict enforcement of the branding regulations (in the 20th regnal year/1575-76) imposed on all the *mansabdars* the obligation of bringing at the periodical reviews the scheduled number of horses and cattle as well as the soldiers maintained by them. This system deprived the corrupt *mansabdars* of the chances of making money by keeping horses and soldiers much below the scheduled quota.[2] Secondly, the unification of secular and spiritual headship and the declaration in 1579 that henceforth the

1. A. N. III. p. 287.
2. Ibid. pp. 274-75.

emperor would be the head of religion and supreme arbiter of all religious disputes dispossessed the orthodox *ulemas* and *mullahs* of power and privileges they used to enjoy so long.[3] Thirdly, the emperor's tolerant religious attitude proved to be a source of psychological setback and deprived the muslims in general of certain privileges. Lastly, the unwise reduction of the special subsistence allowance, enjoyed by officers and men posted in Bihar and Bengal, by the imperial *diwan*, Shah Mansur,[4] vitally affected their economic interests.[5]

Under such circumstances it was necessary for the officials of these provinces to work with extreme caution and sympathy. But they did just the opposite. The top officers of Bihar foolishly stationed themselves at Patna and engaged in accumulating wealth by taking bribes.[6]

They not only showed cruelty and malignity to the

3. A. N. III. pp. 270-74 ; T. A. II. pp. 343-46 . M. T. II. pp. 262-72.

4. A. N. III. pp. 292-93. After the conquest of Bihar and Bengal the emperor had increased the pay of the officers and men by 100 per cent in Bengal and 50 per cent in Bihar to allure them to work in these provinces as the climate of these regions was "inimical" to horses and some parts thereof were injurious to men. Ignoring all these factors Shah Mansur tried to increase the revenue by reducing the special pay to 50 and 20 per cent respectively.

5. According to Dr. A. L. Srivastava, "the resumption of *jagirs*" was one of the reasons for the discontent in Bihar. (*Akbar The Great.* I. p. 268). But it is difficult to accept this view because the conversion of *jagirs* into *khalsa* took place in 1575 when Bihar with the exception of some portions was just annexed and Bengal was yet to be conquered. Moreover, Abu-l-Fazl clearly states that Bihar, Bengal and Gujarat were left out of this scheme. There is no mention in the writings of the contemporary authors regarding the introduction of this policy into Bihar and Bengal before 1580. Dr. A. L. Srivastava himself accepts Abu-l-Fazl's version. *Akbar The Great.* II. p. 175. Mr. Moreland (ASMI. pp. 120-21) and Dr. Irfan Habib (I. Habib. p. 262) hold the same view. It is also not included among the 9 causes of the Bengal rebellion put forward by Abu-l-Fazl. A N. III. pp. 291-93.

6. A. N. III. pp. 284-85.

officers and *jagirdars* of the province during reviews and drills but even highhandedly transferred and changed the *jagirs* of Ma'sum Khan Kabuli, 'Arab Bahadur and other important *amirs* of the province.[7] All these estranged the military and administrative personnel posted at different places of Bihar and the situation became explosive.[8] Just at this time, the *'fatwa'* (ruling) issued by Mulla Muhammad Yazdi, the *qazi-ul-quzat* of Jaunpur, served as a match-stick thrown on a dry stack. He declared that the emperor had deviated from the religion of Islam and had "in his dominion made encroachments on the grant (*madad-i ma'ash*) lands belonging to us and to God....".[9] The *qazi*, therefore, urged that the duty of the faithful was to rise in arms against him. This *'fatwa'* of the *qazi* incited the disgruntled officers. Ma'sum Khan Kabuli, the foster brother of Mirza Hakim and *jagirdar* of Patna, Sa'id Beg Badakhshi and 'Arab Bahadur, the *jagirdars* of Sassaram, Sa'id Badakhshi's son, Bahadur, and Darwish 'Ali Shakhru, the *jagirdars* of Tirhut and its neighbourhood and the *jagirdars* of certain other places rose in rebellion. By plausible speeches and flatteries they won over some nobles belonging to second class[10] like Shaham Khan, the *jagirdar* of Hajipur, Mir Mu'izzu-l-mulk, Mir 'Ali Akbar and Samanji Khan, the *jagirdars* of Arrah and its neighbourhood.[11] Some insurgents sacked Patna. 'Arab Bahadur and some other rebels made a vain attempt to plunder the caravan carrying treasures from Bengal to the

7. T. A. II. pp. 349-50 ; M. T. II p. 281.

8. A. N. III. p. 285.

9. M. T. II. p. 276.

10. The classification of *mansabdars* was determined by the number of *suwars* in addition to *zats* possessed by a *mansabdar*. An officer was first class, if his rank in *zat* and *suwar* were equal ; second class, if his *suwar* were less than his zat but not less than half of his *zat* ; third class, if the *suwar* were less than half the *zat* or there was no *suwar* at all. A. N. III. p. 671 ; Ain. I. p. 171. *The Army of the Indian Mughals* (1966). p. 6.

11. A. N. III. p. 285.

imperial court through Bihar. Muhibb 'Ali Khan, the *de facto* governor of the province dashed to Rohtas[12] to prevent its fall. To fight the rebels Shamsher Khan, the superintendent of the exchequer of the province, hastened to Benares to collect Todar Mal's soldiers.[13] Rai Purushottam, the *mir bakhshi* of the province, went to Ghazipur[14] to take the help of its *jagirdar*, Ma'sum Khan Farrankhudi. The latter's promise of help, however, proved to be false[15] and Rai Purushottam was killed by 'Arab Bahadur at Ghazipur. 'Arab Bahadur was, of course, forced to withdraw from that quarter by Muhibb 'Ali Khan. But still the situation was very alarming as a large number of the Mughal *jagirdars*, officers and soldiers posted in Bihar defected to the side of the rebels and the psychological atmosphere of the province was in their favour.

On receiving this grave news the emperor took urgent measures. The situation had been so critical that a small force would have proved inadequate. Hence he issued orders for despatching several forces from different places. A formidable army immediately started under the command of Raja Todar Mal, then accompanying the emperor, to suppress this rebellion in Bihar. S. Farid Bakhshi,[16] Mir

12. Rohtas or Rohtasgarh is the hill fort in the Sassaram subdivision of Shahabad district, Bihar, situated in 24° 37' N and 83° 55' E, about 30 miles south of Sassaram town. I. G. XXI. p. 322.

13. A. N. III. p. 286. It seems from Abu-l-Fazl's account that at this time Benares was Todar Mal's *jagir*. The Raja's close relation with Benares is also known from the Sanskrit sources. See Chapter XII.

14. Ghazipur is the headquarters of the *tahsil* and district of the same name in U. P., situated in 25° 35' N and 83° 36' E on the bank of the Ganges. I. G. XII. p. 230.

15. This indicates that Ma'sum Khan Farrankhudi was sympathetic to the rebels and to augment their insurrection he had deceived Rai Purushottam with false promise. The later events vindicated this presumption.

16. S. Farid Bakhshi was made the *mir bakhshi* and in Akbar's 40th year/1595-96 he was made a *mansabdar* of 1500. Blochmann. pp. 454-58.

'Ali Khan Sildaz,[17] Raja Askaran,[18] Rai Lonkaran,[19] Naqib Khan,[20] 'Abdu-l-Qasim and others to accompany him. Further, Tarson Khan[21] and Ma'sum Khan Farrankhudi, the *jagirdars* of Jaunpur and Ghazipur respectively, Ghazi Khan Badakhshi,[22] Rai Surjan and other *jagirdars* of Allahabad and Awadh were ordered to join the imperial army on its arrival at their place and work unitedly and sincerely obey the instructions of the Raja. Sadiq Khan, Baqi Khan, Ulugh Khan Habshi,[23] Tayib Khan and Mir Abu-l-Muzaffar,[24] posted in the neighbourhood of Chanderi[25] and Narwar[26] were also despatched to participate in this expedition.[27]

Contemporary writers are not in agreement regarding

17. Mihr 'Ali Khan Sildaz served Akbar in various capacities and became a *mansabdar* of 1000. M. U. III. pp. 217-18 ; Blochmann. p. 481.

18. Raja Askaran was a brother of Raja Bihari Mal. Under Akbar he became a *mansabdar* of 3000 and died in the 33rd regnal year/1588-89. Blochmann. p. 509.

19. Rai Lonkaran belonged to the Shaykhawat branch of the Kachhwahas. Under Akbar he was given the *mansab* of 2000. M. U. II. pp. 116-17 . Blochmann. pp. 554, 600.

20. Naqib Khan's real name was Mir Ghiyasu-d-din 'Ali. He received the title of Naqib Khan in Akbar's 26th regnal year/1581-82. M. U. III. pp. 812-17 ; Blochmann. pp. 496-98.

21. Tarson Khan was at first in the service of Bairam Khan. Under Akbar he was granted the rank of 5000. He died in Bengal in 1584. M. U. I. pp. 471-75 ; Blochmann. pp. 364-66.

22. Under Akbar Ghazi Khan Badakhshi became a *mansabdar* of 1000 and received the title of Ghazi Khan. M. U. II. pp. 857-62 ; Blochmann. pp. 487-88.

23. Ulugh Khan Habshi was a *mansabdar* of 1000 under Akbar. M. U. I. p. 87 ; Blochmann. p. 483.

24. Mir Abu-l-Muzaffar was the son of Ashraf Khan. Under Akbar he held a *mansab* of 500. Blochmann. pp. 424, 542.

25. Chanderi was a town in the Narwar district of Gwalior state, Madhya Pradesh, situated in 24° 43′ N and 78° 9′ E. I. G. X. pp. 163-64.

26. Narwar was a town in the district of the same name in Gwalior state, Madhya Pradesh, situated in 25° 39′ N and 77° 54′ E. Ibid. XVIII. pp. 396-97.

27. A. N. III. p. 287.

Todar Mal's exact position in the expedition. Abu-l-Fazl states that the officers were instructed to act in harmony and not "to deviate from the instructions of Tarson Khan and the Raja...."[28] But Nizamu-d-din writes that the generals were directed to "use their best endeavours, in conjunction with Raja Todar Mal, for the destruction of that body of the perverted destiny."[29] Badayuni categorically states that the officers and *jagirdars* were "ordered to assist the Raja."[30]

Abu-l-Fazl implies that Tarson Khan and Todar Mal were joint leaders. But at that time Tarson Khan was a *mansabdar* of 5000 and the Raja held a much lower *mansab* as he attained the rank of 4000 only after the former's death. Again, Abu-l-Fazl has named Tarson Khan first whenever he refers to him and the Raja.[31] All these indicate that Tarson Khan was the superior leader.

On the other hand, it is clearly evident from Nizamu-d-din and Badayuni that Todar Mal was the supreme commander. The Raja, according to the subsequent accounts of these authors, led the imperial army, gave instructions to the generals and soldiers and took decisions regarding the steps to be taken.[32]

It may be counter argued: how could Tarson Khan, an officers of 5000, be placed under the command of Todar Mal who was granted the rank of 4000 only after the former's death? If we accept Abu-l-Fazl's version of joint leadership, the question may be raised in the same manner: how could two men of such different ranks be placed on the same footing? The answer is that the principle of joint leadership in expedition, as current among the Mughal rulers, was yet to be formulated and adopted. All

28. A. N. III. p. 287; Eng. Tr. p. 422.
29. T. A. II. p. 351; Eng. Tr. p. 534.
30. M. T. II. p. 282; Eng. Tr. p. 290.
31. A. N. III. pp. 287, 307. 319.
32. T. A. II. pp. 351-54; M. T. II. pp. 282-84.

the previous expeditions, with the exception of a few where Abu-l-Fazl is silent about the leadership, and several later campaigns were led by a single person. Further, it was Akbar's practice not to consider rank while appointing officers to conduct campaigns or redress administrative lapses and wrongs. His only consideration was the merit and efficiency of the officer appointed for the particular job. Abu-l-Fazl states that "in the code of just sovereignty weight is given to wisdom and to years, and reliance is placed upon abundance of loyalty, and not upon age."[33] Further, he writes : "The foundation of appointments is talents and virtues, and the qualities of ancestors are not regarded."[34] Again, it should be borne in mind that at that time Todar Mal was enjoying the high post of *mashraf-i-diwan* whereas Tarson Khan was the *jagirdar* of Jaunpur. Moreover, it is evident from Abu-l-Fazl's subsequent account that till the arrival of 'Aziz Khan, later on appointed governor of Bihar and Bengal, Todar Mal decided the future course of action at certain critical moments. The author states that when the rebels proceeded in great number to oppose the imperialists, it was Todar Mal and not Tarson Khan, who summoned a council of officers to decide the future course of action. Again, Abu-l-Fazl states that it was on Todar Mal's complaints that the emperor dismissed Khwaja Shah Mansur, the *wazir*, whose certain measures had estranged the Mughal officers and soldiers. Lastly, Ma'sum Khan Farrankhudi begged permission from Todar Mal to proceed against the rebels at Patna which the Raja not only granted but sent two other officers to keep watch over Ma'sum Khan's conduct.[35] But Abu-l-Fazl has mentioned no occasion when Tarson Khan took any decision although whenever he has to mention the names of Tarson Khan and Todar Mal, he has named him

33. A. N. III. p. 33 ; Eng. Tr. p. 47.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid. pp. 307, 308, 321.

first, perhaps owing to his superior rank. Hence all the above considerations lead us to believe hold that Todar Mal was the leader of the imperial army.

Meanwhile, a rebellion had also broken out in Bengal. Administrative oppression and neglect of the interests of the governed are everywhere condemnable. But it was more odious and dangerous in Bengal, because of its peculiar geographical situation. This the Bengal officers did not realise adequately. Lying at a great distance from the imperial headquarters and with the long and unhealthy rainy season, Bengal proved to be a favourable ground for the trouble makers. As a matter of fact, trouble used to break out every now and then. That is why it was called 'Bulghak-khana'. Under such circumstances it was incumbent on the governor and other imperial officers to perform their duties cautiously and sympathetically. But Muzaffar Khan, who was appointed governor of Bengal on 14th March, 1579[36] after the death of Khan Jahan, did the opposite. He behaved highhandedly and enforced with retrospective effect the new order of Shah Mansur, the imperial *diwan*, regarding the special subsistence allowance and ordered the officers and soldiers to refund the excess payment. Some of his tactless officials caused a stir by making enquiries into the accumulations of Khan Jahan, the former governor. This foolish measure antagonised Isma'il Quli Khan, Khan Jahan's brother, and his Turkoman followers who rose in arms. Realising the wrong step the officers made a hasty settlement with Isma'il Quli Khan. But as soon as the latter left Bengal for the court, these greedy officials, in enforcing new rules for branding, began to torture the Turkomans in Bengal for money. Moreover, Muzaffar Khan considered Razavi Khan, the *bakhshi*, Hakim Abu-l-Fath, the *amin* and *sadr* and Mir Adham and Rai Tipur Das, the joint *diwans* of the province, as his partners, instead of his deputies and so became jealous

36. A. N. III. p. 265 ; Eng. Tr. p. 386.

of them. This generated misunderstanding and suspicion among them and Muzaffar Khan neglected his duties by leaving the jobs to be performed by these officials.[37]

Abu-l-Fazl catalogues nine reasons that were behind the genesis of troubles in Bengal. Five of these viz. (i) "the crookedness of reasoning", (ii) the 'wicked nature' of the rebels, (iii) the accumulation of wealth by the officers, (iv) the reduction of special subsistence allowance and (v) the universal tolerant religious attitude are in common with those of Bihar. The sixth cause was the shortage or almost non-existence of the efficient, broadminded and right thinking persons who could tackle the difficult situation efficiently. The seventh was the misbehaviour of *bakhshi* Razavi Khan. Being appointed the *bakhshi* of the province Razavi made new settlements, instead of revising the former ones, based on the investigation into the titles of assigned lands. This hit the assignees hard. The eighth cause was the torture inflicted upon Khaldin Khan for the collection of revenue of Jalessar which was transferred from him to a new assignee, Mir Jamalu-d-din Husain Anjou. The ninth was the public execution of Rasham Beg, a servant of Mirza Hakim, who had embezzled the revenue of the exchequer lands and had been generating discontent among the soldiers and generals in Bengal.[38]

Alarmed at this severe penal measure some corrupt, opportunist, disloyal and ambitious officers and *jagirdars* began to exploit all these grievances of the Mughal soldiers, generals and *jagirdars* in order to become independent of the emperor whose strong measures proved to be an obstacle in the path of fulfilment of their greed and selfish ambitions. They severed their relations with the imperial administration and raised the banner of revolt on 28th January, 1580. Baba Khan, Jabbari and Wazir Jamil, assisted by Sa'id

37. A. N. III. pp. 265, 299-91.
38. A. N. III. pp. 291-93 ; T. A. II. pp. 348-49.

Toqbai, 'Arab Bakhshi and others, acted as ring leaders in the movement. They killed a number of loyal officers, imprisoned Razavi Khan and tried to negotiate with Akbar's brother Mirza Hakim of Kabul so as to install him as the rival emperor.[39]

On receiving these news, some of the officers of the court suggested emperor's personal intervention for quelling the rebellion in the eastern provinces. Differing from them Akbar argued that the real danger lay in the rebels' collaboration with his brother Mirza Hakim of Kabul as the prospective imperial candidate. Their success would give the disturbance an all-empire shape, while the bigoted *mullahs*, who were very much dissatisfied with his liberal and tolerant religious policy, would seek to exploit that situation to his disadvantage and disgrace. This would land Akbar in an extremely dangerous position and threaten the very existence of his empire. It would, therefore, be wiser to proceed personally against Mirza Hakim and prevent his conjunction with the sedition-mongers. This would hit at the root of the trouble and limit it within the boundaries of Bihar and Bengal which his officers could successfully tackle.[40] Later events justified the soundness of his judgement.

Meanwhile, the rebels of Bengal effected a junction with their counterparts in Bihar at Teliagarhi. Their strength was much augmented when some of the loyalists deserted to them. The rebels then captured Tanda, the provincial capital, and slew Muzaffar Khan, the governor, on 19th April, 1580. The rebellion in Bengal reached its peak and the greater part of the province came under the possession of the insurgents. Having distributed the entire territory among themselves, the rebels assumed high ranks according to their importance. They also read *Khutba* in the name of Mirza Hakim and decided to spend the rest of

39. A. N. III. pp. 291, 293-94.
40. Ibid. pp. 294-95.

their lives in pleasure and idleness. But when the rumours of the despatch of reinforcement from the court with Raja Todar Mal at its head came, most of the rebels proceeded to oppose the imperialists.[41]

Ma'sum Khan Kabuli and most of the rebels of Bihar, where affairs were not so desperate as in Bengal due to the differences among the rebels, went towards Bengal leaving a contingent headed by 'Arab Bahadur at Patna so that he could exercise sway over it. Shaham Khan, who rejoined the loyalists, defeated Bhadur, the son of Sa'id Badakhshi, the rebel collector of Tirhut and Muhibb 'Ali forced 'Arab to leave Patna.[42]

II. Arrival of Todar Mal in Bihar and His Campaign Against the Rebels

Meanwhile, the imperial army with Todar Mal at its head arrived at Jaunpur where Tarson Khan, Sadiq Khan, Ghazi Khan, Ulugh Khan and many others joined him. Ma'sum Khan Farrankhudi with a well equipped army of 3000 joined them near Ghazipur. As everybody was aware of his doubtful loyalty and suspicious activities, he was put one or two stages ahead of the main army in order to watch his activities. Near Patna the imperialists, on receiving the news of Muzaffar Khan's tragic end, held a consultation to determine the future course of action. Here Muhibb 'Ali, Shaham Khan and Baqi Khan joined them.[43]

On the basis of the discussion Todar Mal decided that all generals and soldiers would henceforth march fully armed and remain prepared for any eventuality so as to prevent a surprise by the enemy or check machinations of internal mischief-makers. Accordingly the battle order was drawn up. The *Harawal* was commanded by

41. A. N. III. pp. 299-301, 304-5 ; Eng. Tr. p. 449n3.
42. Ibid. p. 306.
43. Ibid. pp. 306, 307.

Ma'sum Khan Farrankhudi, S. Farid Bokhari and others ; the *Ghol* was led by Tarson Khan, Todar Mal, Rai Surjan and others ; the *Jaranghar* was under Sadiq Khan, Ulugh Khan, Naqib Khan and others ; while the *Baranghar* was headed by Muhibb 'Ali Khan, Mir Abu-l-Muzaffar, Shaham Khan and others.[44]

Todar Mal's well-planned directive and battle array adversely affected the chances of the rebels. On receiving the news of the approaching imperial army, the rebel captains of Bihar, 'Arab, Habib and others, who were making disturbances in the neighbourhood, fled away. So the disloyal persons inside Todar Mal's army could not make a common cause with the rebels. While Todar Mal's precautionary measures repelled the external danger, these could not forestall the internal trouble. In fact, he had to face a very difficult situation. Ma'sum Khan Farrankhudi had already demonstrated his sympathy towards the rebels and earned a notoriety for his suspicious behaviour. And now after the arrival of the imperial army at Monghyr on 18th May, 1580, he made a plan of killing Todar Mal, the most loyal and hence the strongest upholder of the imperial cause, who barred the path of his assuming independent authority. He thought that if he could succeed in executing the plan, the imperial army would then disperse in confusion and panic. This would enable him to take command of the situation and "advance some steps to his goal".[45] Accordingly Ma'sum Khan Farrankhudi had a group of vagabonds of the place armed and induced them, perhaps, by paying a large sum of money, to kill the Raja during an arranged inspection of their battle order. However, Todar Mal saw through the scheme and refused to visit Ma'sum Khan Farrankhudi's musters on some pretext.[46] Perhaps he was forewarned by his efficient

44. A. N. III. p. 307.
45. Ibid. p. 307 ; Eng. Tr. p. 453.
46. Ibid. p. 307.

intelligence service, but this is not clearly mentioned. But strangely enough, he did not adopt any penal measure against Ma'sum Khan.

What prevented Todar Mal from exposing and punishing Ma'sum Khan Farrankhudi? Abu-l-Fazl states that he "did not tear away the veil over his (Ma'sum's) conduct",[47] but gives no reason for the Raja's conduct. It seems that although Ma'sum's treachery was crystal clear to Todar Mal it was not at all patent to others. It would be difficult, if not impossible, to prove it to the hilt. Under these circumstances any punishment might have adversely affected the cohesion in his army which included a good number of persons of doubtful loyalty. Further, Todar Mal perhaps knew that in spite of his suspicious behaviour and ill-designs, Ma'sum Khan Farrankhudi had no direct connection with the rebels and he intended to utilise in future the difference between the former and the rebels to his advantage. As a matter of fact, Todar Mal did this successfully. Moreover, it was in Todar Mal's knowledge that the emperor was very fond of Ma'sum Khan Farrankhudi.[48] Another cogent factor was that at this time the Bengal rebels were advancing towards Monghyr with a well equipped army. All these considerations prevented the Raja from taking any precipitate action against him.

A good number of Bengal rebels reached Monghyr from Teliagarhi with the intention of fighting the imperialists in alliance with their Bihar compatriots. On their way they had a skirmish with the scouts of the imperial army. The rebel contingent with Ma'sum Khan Kabuli and Mirza Sharafu-d-din Husain at their head swelled up to 30,000 horsemen besides 500 elephants and many boats equipped for fighting and a well arranged park of artillery.[49]

47. A. N. III. Eng. Tr. p. 453.
48. Ibid. p. 308.
49. M. T. II. pp. 282-83.

The object of the rebels was to strike and crush the imperial army immediately. To achieve this aim they adopted offensive tactics. They besieged the fort of Monghyr and started shelling it. They also made efforts to tempt the imperialists, officials and privates alike, to defect from and thus weaken Todar Mal's army.[50]

A man of practical sense and varied experience, Todar Mal realised the grave nature of the situation and thought it unwise to engage in battle with men of doubtful loyalty and suspicious behaviour especially like Ma'sum Khan Farrankudi. In a council of officers, summoned by the Raja to determine the line of action, it was decided to take a defensive stand.[51] Todar Mal's strategy was to strike the rebels just when he would be able to restore the confidence and unity in his army, muster sufficient strength for an offensive and isolate the rebels from local support. Accordingly he at first adopted defensive tactics. To ease the military situation, he immediately took up position inside the fort of Monghyr and ordered to repair and reconstruct it where needed. In a short time, the entrenchments were made and a deep moat was dug. Walls were also built on four sides and outwardly the fort appeared to be a new one. The rebels besieged and attacked it on 19th June, 1580 and the loyalists retaliated with cannon and musket shots. Skirmishes went on and many brave persons belonging to both sides distinguished themselves in these short encounters.[52]

Todar Mal then sent a detailed report of all these happenings to the court and sought reinforcements. The emperor immediately sent one *lakh* of rupees.[53] He then despatched a strong contingent under the leadership of Mirza 'Aziz Koka, now entitled Khan 'Azam and appointed

50. A. N. III. p. 308.
51. Ibid. pp. 307, 308.
52. Ibid. p. 308.
53. Ibid. p. 319 ; M. T. II. p. 283.

a mansabdar of 5000. He was assisted by Saiyid 'Abdullah Khan, Qasim Khan, Mirzada 'Ali Khan and a number of officers. The emperor also made him governor of Bihar and Bengal and ordered the besieged generals and soldiers to obey the Khan 'Azam on arrival. Arrangements were also made to send supplies—money, food and arms — to the fort of Monghyr regularly by land and water routes.[54]

Besides taking steps to ease the military situation, Todar Mal, like a true statesman, tried to probe into the most important and fundamental causes of rebellion in Bihar and Bengal and root them out. For he realised that no such rebellion could be crushed merely by force. This raises Todar Mal head and shoulder above ordinary generals.

He sent a highly critical note of complaint to the emperor againt Khwaja Shah Mansur, the imperial *wazir*, for sowing the seed of dissatisfaction among the officers and men in Bihar and Bengal. First, he pointed out that the Khwaja's efforts to increase the state revenue by cutting down the special subsistence allowance enjoyed by generals and soldiers of Bihar and Bengal were extremely unwise. Secondly, the Khwaja's efforts to realise the arrears of revenue due from loyal *jagirdars* when they were already hard pressrd and preoccupied in defensive operations, were extremely untimely. In this regard he drew the emperor's attention to the Khwaja's harsh letter, demanding arrears of revenue due from Ma'sum Khan Farrankhudi whom the Raja was still able to keep on the imperial side with "various expedient and conciliatory measures." In the third place, he also complained against Shah Mansur's threat to Tarson Khan at a time when he was waging struggle against the formidable rebels. Thus Todar Mal became instrumental in securing the dismissal of Khwaja Shah Mansur from the post of *wazir* thereby removing a major grievance of the rebels.[55]

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54. A. N. III. pp. 308, 309.
55. A. N. III. p. 316; T. A. II. pp. 354-55.

Further, in order to keep up the morale and strength of his own army and weaken the rebels, Todar Mal established contact with some local loyal *zamindars* and induced them to block the routes of supplies of grains to the rebel camp, causing great hardship to the besiegers.[56]

As the siege was in progress, the besieged army of Todar Mal began to lose its strength gradually. Three of its officers, Humayun Quli, Tarkhan Khan Diwana and Shah Diwana, along their followers, defected from the imperial camp and joined the rebels.[57] Emboldened by this defection, they attempted to cut off the lines of supplies to the besieged imperial army both on land and water. Mirza Sharafu-d-din and Ma'sum Khan Kabuli guarded the Patna-Monghyr route while the rebels also fitted a fleet to intercept the cargo vessels of the imperialists sailing along the river Ganges.[58]

The condition of the besieged army became very precarious. But Todar Mal did not remain idle. He adopted well-thought-out and comprehensive measures to counter the rebels' move. First, he sought the emperor's personal presence in the theatre of war. It would ease the grim situation inside the fort and maintain the morale of the besieged army. It would also prevent further defection and accelerate the suppression of the rebellion. The emperor, however, did not personally proceed towards the theatre of war but sent further reinforcement under Shahbaz Khan.[59] Secondly, he made a three-pronged attack as soon as he learnt about the rebels' efforts to intercept the boats carrying food, arms and other goods at a distance of about 18 miles from the fort. Immediately he sent an army led by Sadiq Khan, Ulugh Khan and Naqib Khan through land to that direction while Rai Tipur Das and his associates were directed to proceed by water. A third contingent

56. T. A. II. p. 352.
57. A. N. III. p. 308.
58. Ibid. p. 315.
59. Ibid. p. 314.

was despatched to the other side of the river so that they might march quickly and come to their rescue.[60]

Unable to cope with such combined operations of Todar Mal, the rebels lost 300 boats, full of munitions of war to the imperial army.[61] This augmented the fighting potential of the loyalists and caused frustration among the rebels. The morale of the latter was further dampened when they received the news of the debacle of their compatriots in Bengal and of the escape of Khwaja Shamsu-d-din along with some of his followers from the rebels' fold. This was soon followed by further defections from the insurgents' ranks and the swelling of the ranks of Khwaja Shamsu-d-din to 1200.[62] Just at the moment the rebels received the report of the approaching reinforcements sent successively under Khan 'Azam 'Aziz Koka and Shahbaz Khan and of the meditated plan of the besieged army to come out of the fort and engage them in pitched battle. In that case, the rebels thought, they would be pressed to destruction from two sides—front and rear. In great alarm they lifted the siege on 25th July, 1580 and dispersed dispiritedly in different directions. Some fled towards Bengal, some towards Bihar Sharif,[63] while others indulged in plunder.[64]

The besieged army could have scored an easy success if it would attack the fleeing enemy at this time. But as some of the most important officers of Todar Mal's army thought it a trick of the rebels to lure them to come out of their guarded position and fall into their trap, Todar mal, in spite of his awareness of the rebels' plight, decided to remain inside the fort for that day. Their hesitation was

60. A. N. III. p. 315.

61. Ibid.

62. Ibid.

63. Bihar Sharif is now the headquarters of the sub-division of the same name in Patna district, situated in 25° 11' N and 85° 31' E on the bank of the Panchana river. D. G. Patna (1907). p. 189.

64. A. N. III. pp. 319-22.

removed on the next day when Khwaja Shamsu-d-din along with his followers joined them and spoke about the confusion and panic among the rebels. The imperialists then marched in pursuit of Ma'sum Khan Kabuli who had fled towards Bihar Sharif. On the way Todar Mal received the news of the rebels' attack upon the fort of Patna. He immediately sent a detachment towards Patna and himself followed it giving up the chase of Ma'sum Kabuli. Ma'sum Khan Farrankhudi volunteered to lead the advance detachment being sent to Patna. Though disgusted with his disloyal machinations, the Raja allowed him to go. But as a precautionary measure he ordered Muhibb 'Ali Khan and Mihr 'Ali Khan to follow and keep watch upon him. All of them dashed to Patna and drove out the rebels from there.[65]

On receiving this news at Rani Sarai,[66] Todar Mal stopped his army from going to Patna and resumed his pursuit of Ma'sum Kabuli who was then moving from Bihar Sharif towards Hazaribagh.[67] Following him the imperial army came near the city of Bahira,[68] now the rebels' seat and had to encamp at a place which was submerged in water. Todar Mal instructed his generals and soldiers to remain alert for any eventuality as the enemy was at a distance of 2 *farsangs* (8 miles).[69]

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65. A. N. III. pp. 320–21.

66. Rani Sarai is in Patna district and 5 miles west of Barh which is situated on the bank of the Ganges in 25° 29' N and 85° 43' E. D. G. Patna (1907). pp. 36, 185, 186, 195.

67. Hazaribagh is the headquarters of the district of the same name in Bihar, picturesquely situated in 23° 59' N and 85° 22' E, on the high central plateau of the district, at the elevation of 2000 feet above sea-level, in the middle of a group of conical hills. I. G. XIII. p. 99.

68. Bahira is identified with Sherghati, a town in the headquarters sub-division of Gaya district, situated 21 miles south of Gaya town on the right bank of the river Morhar in 24° 33' N and 84° 48' E. D. G. Gaya (1906). p. 236.

69. A. N. III. p. 322

Taking advantage of the negligence of the guards, the rebels surprised the imperialists by making a daring night attack. This sudden onslaught completely unnerved the imperialists. But the disastrous situation was saved due to the foresight of Todar Mal and Sadiq Khan who, out of experince, had maintained their armies in complete battle array. Ultimately the rebels had to pull back towards Bahira. The imperial army remained stationary and alert for the night instead of following them. Todar Mal thus showed his wisdom in not pursuing the enemy in the darkness of night especially in a country invested with jungles. At day break he marched to Bahira and occupied it. Again, he wisely decided not to endeavour to follow the rebels who were at a distance of 6 miles because of the bad conditions of the road which was under water and surrounded by jungles. Thus did Todar Mal act with due caution and did not undertake any rash steps which a less experienced general might have been tempted to take at the flush of victory.[70]

III. Joint Campaigns of Khan 'Azam 'Aziz Koka and Todar Mal

While Todar Mal was waiting at Bahira, Khan 'Azam 'Aziz Koka arrived with a large force and at once assumed overall charge of the imperial army. The arrival of the reinforcement so alarmed the rebels that many of them fled towards Bengal. Without pursuing them, Khan 'Azam and Todar Mal set themselves to consolidating the gains and establishing peace and order in Bihar. Accordingly they proceeded towards Patna and Hajipur leaving an army headed by Muhibb 'Ali Khan to look after the country from Bahira to Rohtas. At Gaya[71] some 200

70. A. N. III. pp. 322-23.

71. Gaya is the administrative headquarters of the district of the same name, Bihar, situated on the western bank of the river Phalgu in 24° 49' N and 85° 1' E. D. G. Gaya (1906). p. 211.

rebels rejoined the imperialists. Armies were sent to Sarangpur and Monghyr to chastise the rebels and to restore peace and security there. A contingent was posted at Bihar Sharif and another headed by Tarson Khan was despatched to Jaunpur to suppress the seditious activities of Ma'sum Khan Farrankhudi. The rest of the army led by Khan 'Azam and Todar Mal went towards Patna and Hajipur.[72] Difference between Khan 'Azam and Todar Mal on the one hand and Shahbaz Khan on the other appeared at Hajipur due to the independent activities of the latter who became supercilious after his successful chastisement of the rebels and seizure of Hajipur from Bahadur. Had he acted in concert with the Raja and Khan 'Azam, the imperialists could have restored peace and established order not only in Bihar but also in Bengal within a short time. His independent activities had practically paralysed the imperialists' operation in these two provinces for some time. He even refused to surrender Hajipur which had been assigned to Khan 'Azam by the emperor. Once again, Todar Mal played the role of peacemaker and broke the stalemate. He had to apply all his tact and skill in persuading Shahbaz Khan to hand Hajipur over to Khan 'Azam.[73]

Khan 'Azam and Todar Mal established their quarters at Hajipur while Shahbaz Khan had his seat at Patna. The latter's success against the rebels had increased his dignity which together with his distribution of *jagir* allured many of the officers to his fold. Being disgusted with his separatist movements, Khan 'Azam and Todar Mal remained inactive leaving the affairs of the province to be settled by Shahbaz Khan. To break the deadlock and to restore harmony and unity in action some wise officers suggested to divide between them Bihar and Bengal as their sphere of activities. But it failed to cut the ice due

72. A. N. III. p. 324.
73. Ibid. pp. 324-25.

to non-conciliatory and unyielding attitude of the contending parties. In order to avoid conflict and to get rid of each other, Khan 'Azam and Todar Mal proceeded to Tirhut on the pretext of chastising Bahadur, while Shahbaz Khan went off with a large force to Jaunpur on the plea of bringing back Ma'sum Khan Farrankhudi to imperial service. Some time after, Raja Todar Mal left Bihar and paid homage to the emperor on 5th September, 1581. As directed by the emperor he resumed his duty as *wazir*.[74]

74. A. N. III. pp. 325, 372.

CHAPTER VIII

SOME IMPORTANT ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES HELD BY TODAR MAL

Returning to the court in September, 1581 after his successful handling of the rebellion in Bihar, Todar Mal resumed his normal administrative activities as *wazir*. At this time he formulated the Twelve Regulations regarding revenue administration which got the emperor's approval on 3rd March 1582. The said date falls in the 26th regnal year/11th March, 1581—10th March, 1582, of Akbar although Abu-l-Fazl has mentioned it in the account of the 27th regnal year/11th March, 1582—10th March, 1583.[1]

What has led Abu-l-Fazl to mention the event of the 26th regnal year in the account of 27th regnal year ? He states that in the beginning of the 27th regnal year the Raja became the 'Renowned Servant' of the empire and "was appointed to the lofty office of *ashraf-i-diwan* and virtually the position of *vakil* was conferred on him".[2] Further, the author writes : "Everything was referred to him and a choice ordering of administrative and financial matters was the result".[3] In mentioning the Raja's honourable appointment the author narrates the Twelve Regulations, perhaps as the reason behind his elevation.[4]

1. Add. 27, 247. f. 331b.
2. Add. 27, 247. f. 331b ; A. N. III. p. 381 ; Eng. Tr. p. 561.
3. A. N. III. p. 382 ; Eng. p. 561.
4. As the Twelve Regulations are mentioned in the 27th regnal year and as neither the published texts (both A. S. B. and Newal Kishore) nor any other MSS mention the said date, the scholars are led to hold that the Raja formulated the Twelve Regulations in the 27th regnal year. This view should now be corrected on the basis of the information supplied by the above mentioned MS of the A. N. preserved in British Museum. For a comparative study

It has already been stated that the Raja was made *mashraf-i-diwan* and *de facto vakil* in November, 1575 (20th regnal year).[5] A critical study of Abu-l-Fazl's narratives of the 20th and 27th regnal years will reveal that in the 27th regnal year Todar Mal's position as *mashraf-i-diwan* was reiterated and he was made *de facto vakil* for the second time.

First, the term *ashraf-i-diwan* is synonymous with *mashraf-i-diwan.*[6] So Todar Mal was honoured with the same post. Secondly, in the 27th regnal year/1582-83 Abu-l-Fazl states that he was made virtual *vakil* whereas in the 20th regnal year/1575-76, the same author speaks of the Raja "who has been selected the *vakil*....".[7] This means that there is no distinction between the two. Thirdly, in the accounts of both the years Todar Mal was entrusted with financial and territorial or administrative matters.[8]

How to explain Abu-l-Fazl's apparent inconsistency in giving two different dates for Todar Mal's assumption of the same post? The fundamental fact is that in the Mughal empire there was no distinction between the civil and the military functions. Todar Mal, after his appointment as *de facto vakil* in November, 1575, had to remain engaged in military expeditions most of the time. It has been stated before that he was busy in campaigns in Bengal (November, 1575—December, 1576), in Gujarat (March-September, 1577) and in Bihar (March, 1580—5th September, 1581). Owing to this he could not give proper attention to his duties as *mashraf-i-diwan.* That is why Abu-l-Fazl, in narrating his appointment in the 27th

of the two versions of the Twelve Regulations—one is contained in the said MS of the British Museum and the other is carried by the published text (A. S. B.) of the A. N.—see Appendix-III.

5. Vide Section II, Chapter V.
6. *Akbar The Great.* II. p 59n47.
7. A. N. III. p. 158. Eng. Tr p. 223.
8. Ibid. pp. 158, 381.

regnal year, states: "Before this, the duties of the *wazirship* had been entrusted to Raja Todar Mal but on account of the perils of the great enterprise, and the activity of double-faced, ten-tongued persons, he had not applied himself heartily to it."[9]

During Todar Mal's absence on military operations Khwaja Shah Mansur was appointed *diwan* in November, 1576.[10] It is obvious that the Khwaja remained junior to and had to work under the Raja who evidently was not dismissed from the post of *mashraf-i-diwan.* Again, on Todar Mal's return from the Gujarat campaign in September, 1577, Abu-l-Fazl states that "in accordance with former arrangement the settlement of the affairs of *wazirship* was made by him (the Raja)".[11] Further, the Khwaja was, as already mentioned before, dismissed from *diwanship* on the recommendation of Todar Mal in August, 1580.[12]

Moreover, the reiteration was necessary because of the brief spell of prime-ministership (*vakilat*) of Muzaffar Khan Turbati who held the post from October, 1577 to 14th March, 1579.[13] Duriug this period Todar Mal did not function as the *de facto vakil.*

Last of all, it should be borne in mind that before his appointment as *mashraf-i-diwan* and *de facto vakil* in November, 1575, the Raja very successfully reorganised the distracted revenue administration of Gujarat in October-November, 1573 and proposed certain important reforms viz., the conversion of *jagirs* into *khalsa,* the promulgation of branding regulations and gradation of the officers.[14] Perhaps as his system of revenue administration and the suggested reforms worked well during the

9. A. N. III. p. 381 ; Eng. Tr. p. 560.
10. Ibid. pp. 193-94.
11. Ibid. p. 213.
12. Ibid. p. 316.
13. Ibid. pp. 215, 265.
14. Ibid. pp. 65, 67-69.

intervening period, he was honoured with the above mentioned posts in November, 1575 on his return from the Bengal campaign. Similarly as he formulated the far reaching Twelve Regulations after his reassumption of the *wazirship* in September, 1581 he was once again honoured with the post of *de facto vakil* and his position as *mashraf-i-diwan* was reiterated in the beginning of the 27th regnal year.

At the end of the year 1582 the emperor, in order to check the prevailing administrative corruption, entrusted a number of officers with the task of purchase and sale of various articles and animals. Todar Mal was placed in charge of that of elephants and grain.[15] In June, 1583 Akbar made an overall change in administration and entrusted distinguished officers with important departments. Todar Mal along with Khwaja Yahya, Rai Durga and Yar 'Ali was put in charge of "the development of the dominions and the appointment and dismissal of the officers of *khalsa*."[16]

At the end of November, 1584 the emperor paid a visit to Todar Mal's house which seems to have been situated in the capital and thus fulfilled a long time cherished desire of the Raja. The latter arranged a grand feast in honour of the emperor and turned the occasion into a joyous and delightful one.[17]

In March, 1585 Todar Mal was honoured with the rank of 4000. At this time he was ordered to conduct the financial and administrative affairs of the empire in accordance with the advice of Mir Fath Ullah Shirazi, the *aminu-l-mulk*. At the same time the Mir was asked to conclude "the old transactions which had not been examined since the days of Muzaffar Khan", and to submit

15. A. N. III. p 396.
16. Ibid. p. 404 ; Eng. Tr. p. 599.
17. A. N. III. p. 440.

a report thereon.[18] On the basis of this account of Abu-l-Fazl, Moreland states that Todar Mal was suspended and practically superseded for his oppression of the *karoris*.[19] But this does not appear to be reasonable due to various reasons which would be discussed later.[20]

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18. A. N. III. p. 457.

19. A. S. M. I. pp. 103-105, 109.

20. Vide 'F', Section II, Chapter XI. Here only a very brief account of Todar Mal's activities in chronological order is given Details are to be found later on. Vide Chapter XI.

CHAPTER IX

CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE YUSUFZAIS

In February, 1586 the emperor deputed Todar Mal to suppress the turbulent Afghan tribe—the Yusufzais.[1] Once more he had to exchange his civil duties with military ones. This was his last campaign.

The Yusufzais dwelt in an extensive mountainous tract extending from Bajaur[2] on the west to Swat[3] and Buner[4] on the east. The strategic importance of the hilly country to which access was difficult lay in the fact that it was a very formidable place to capture. It had natural boundaries on 4 sides, two of which were surrounded by the Indus while on the other two sides were the Kabul river and the northern hill-country. It was 60 miles in length and 30-40 miles in breadth. A portion of it was plain but most of it was invested with hills and "delightful valleys and tracts". The plain, known as the Samah plateau, was the homeland of the Mandars, another Afghan tribe. The Yusufzais and the Mandars were the descendants of two brothers—Yusuf and Mandar. The valleys were interspersed with rivers and the climate of this region was so severe that no one could pass a night without a blanket and a fire even during the height of the summer season. Earning their livelihood by plunder and being averse to any sort of

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1. A. N. III. p. 485 ; T. A. II. p 400 . M. T. II. p. 351.

2. Bajaur is a tract of country in the Dir, Swat and Chitral Agency, North West Frontier Province, lying between 34° 25' and 35° 5' N and 70° 1' and 72° E. See Map V.

3. Swat is one of the tracts in Dir, Swat and Chitral Agency, N. W. Frontier Province, lying between 34° 40' and 35° N and 72° and 74° 6' E. It forms the valley of the Swat river. Ibid. XXII. p. 183.

4. Buner is a tract of the country, lying between 34° 22' and 34° 37' N and 72° 5' and 72° 45' E on the north-east border of Peshwar district, N. W. F. Province. Ibid. X p. 88.

discipline, the Yusufzais did not care to respond to Akbar's graceful treatment to one of their leaders, Kalu, and persisted in their plundering activities. Moreover, they were creating troubles on the royal road to Kabul. So to suppress them and to capture their country Akbar sent a powerful army from Hasan Abdal[5] under the command of Zain Khan Koka on 20th December, 1585.[6] To conquer a hilly region it was necessary from the strategic point of view to attack and capture both the hills and plains at the same time. It seems that Akbar was aware of this, because he sent another contingent to root out the rebellion in the Samah plateau.[7]

Zain Khan Koka captured a major portion of the Yusufzai country and then sought reinforcement. So the emperor sent a force led by Hakim Abu-l-Fath. Raja Birbar, who was already despatched with an army towards Swat, was also ordered to join Zain Khan Koka then encamped at Chakdara.[8] But almost the entire combined army including Raja Birbar was annihilated by the Yusufzais. Only a few like Zain Khan Koka, Hakim Abu-l-Fath and others could manage to escape with their lives.[9]

The death of Raja Birbar, Akbar's favourite courtier and the disastrous debacle was a great blow to the emperor who could not sleep or take food for three consecutive days. To avenge this ignominious defeat and to punish the turbulent Yusufzais, Akbar sent a powerful army under the nominal command of prince Sultan Murad, then only 20 years old, on 19th February, 1586. Raja Todar Mal, one of the ablest, experienced and loyal generals, was

5. Hasan Abdal is a village in the district and *tahsil* of Attock, Punjab, situated in 33° 48' N and 72° 44' E. I. G. XIII. p. 70.

6. A. N. III. pp. 474-75 ; Eng. Tr. pp. 715-16.

7. Raverty, *Notes on Afghanistan and part of Baluchistan*, pp. 192-94, 214-16 ; A. N. III. pp. 474-76.

8. Chakdara was a military post on the south bank of the Swat river, in the Dir, Swat and Chitral Agency, North West Frontier Province, situated in 34° 44' N and 72° 8' E. I. G. X. p. 122.

9. A. N. III. pp. 477-85 ; T. A. II. pp. 398-400 ; M. T. II. pp. 349-51.

ordered to accompany him but evidently he was the real commander. The imperial army marched quickly and crossed the Indus and the Kabul rivers on the same day. Zain Khan Koka, Hakim Abu-l-Fath, Qazi 'Ali and others of the previous army were also directed to join and strengthen the force. But a few days later the prince was recalled at the request of Todar Mal who humbly suggested that the prince should be deputed for a more important job and a servant like him be entrusted with this humble task of chastising the Yusufzais.[10]

This suggestion of Todar Mal indicates that he was not ready to accept the young prince as his boss lest the latter's inexperience and immaturity would create difficulties in taking important strategic and tactical decisions. This was a polite way of getting the much needed absolute authority, which would enable him to direct the expedition independently and bring it to a successful close. The emperor accepted his proposal and ordered Kunwar Man Singh, who was at Jamrud[11] and planning to chastise the Tarikis or the Raushaniyas, to proceed towards the country of the Yusufzais and assist Todar Mal.[12]

An experienced and cautious military general, Todar Mal seldom took such chances which involved great risks. He was a realist and used to move according to the needs of the situation. He perfectly realised that it was not

10. A. N. III. p. 485 ; M. T. II. p. 351. But Nizamu-d-din does not mention the name of prince Sultan Murad. He states : "He (the emperor) appointed Raja Todar Mal with a great army for redressing the disaster." T. A. II. p. 400 , Eng. Tr. p. 610. Noted modern historians, V. A. Smith and Dr. A. L. Srivastava, also fail to mention that prince Sultan Murad was at first made the leader of the expedition. It seems that they were guided by Nizamu-d-din's account. *Akbar The Great Mogul.* p. 170 , *Akbar The Great.* I. p. 343.

11. Jamrud is a fort and cantonment just beyond the border of Peshwar district, N. W. F. Province, situated in 34° 6' N and 71° 23' E, at the mouth of the Khybar Pass, 10½ miles west of Peshwar. I. G. XIV. p. 52.

12. A. N. III. p. 487 ; M. T. II. p. 351.

possible to defeat the Yusufzais decisively in their country. He had several handicaps in this regard. He was uncertain about their number ; he himself and most of his soldiers were unaccustomed to fight in such a hilly country and not fit to sustain hardships needed for fighting in this region. These considerations shaped the Raja's strategy. He decided to lock the Yusufzais in a particular zone thus restricting their disturbing activities and robbing them of their supplies, mobility and plundering opportunities. Accordingly Kunwar Man Singh, proceeding from Jamrud towards Buner, encamped on the west bank of the Indus near Ohind[13] which is 15 miles above Attock[14] and just beyond the north-east corner of Peshwar district. Todar Mal, on the other hand, built a network of forts beyond the Yusufzai position and encamped at Lungar hills or Koh-i-Lungar[15] belonging to Swat and on the other side of hills from Ohind. In this way Todar Mal blocked both the exits of the Yusufzais and shut them up in their hills and from these two fortified positions armies were sent regularly to plunder and capture the Yusufzais. Unable to break this Mughal blockade, the harassed and tortured Yusufzais were forced to surrender in utter helplessness and came to terms with the Mughals.[16]

Todar Mal's successful chastisement of the Yusufzais relieved the emperor of anxiety. Leaving Kunwar Man Singh on the spot to deal with the Yusufzais, the Raja went back to the court and paid homage to the emperor on 28th March, 1586.[17]

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13. Ohind is a village in the North West Frontier Province, situated in 34° 2′ N and 72° 27′ E, on the west bank of the Indus. I. G. XXIV. p. 130. See Map V.

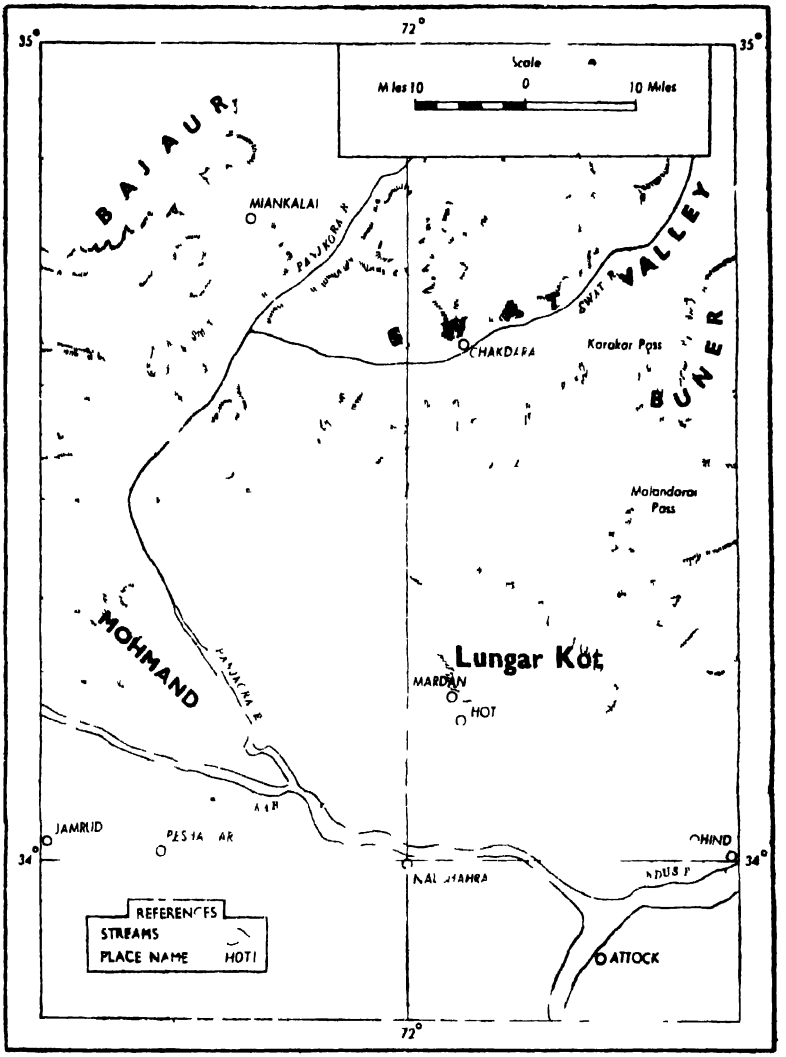
14. Attock city is the headquarters of the district of the same name in Punjab, situated in 33° 53′ N and 72° 15′ E on the Grand Trunk Road. I. G. VI. p. 138.

15. Koh-i-Lungar of the government map is the chief place and seat of authority of the valley of Lungarkot in the Samah Plateau.

16. A. N. III. pp. 487-88 ; T. A. II. p. 400 ; M. T. II. p. 351.

17. A. N. III. pp. 488-89.

Map to Illustrate Todar Mal's Yusufzai Campaigns



CHAPTER X

LAST PHASE OF HIS LIFE.

Contemporary writers give us little information about the remaining years of Todar Mal's life. They furnish us with only five or six stray incidents during these years. All these events indicate that he continued to enjoy high position, influence and imperial favour till his last moment.

On the very day of the Raja's return to the Mughal court from the Yusufzai campaign, 28th March, 1586, the emperor put the king of Kashmir under the Raja's custody. The Kashmir ruler had hesitated to acknowledge the emperor's suzeraınty and his subjects had put up a resistance under the leadership of his son. So the emperor decided to keep him under surveillance till Kashmir was conquered.[1] This reflects Akbar's complete confidence in the integrity of the Raja. As one of the most loyal officers of the empire and as its *mashraf-i-diwan* and *de facto vakil* he was then the emperor's chief assistant in administration.

Some time after this, Raja Basu, "the *zamindar* of Mau and Pathan (Pathankot), which is a tract in Bari Duab in the Punjab and near the northern hills",[2] had revolted against the imperial authority. Early in November, 1586 Todar Mal threatened him in a letter about the grave consequences of his action and advised him not to tread this

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1. A. N. III. p. 488 . Eng. Tr. pp. 738-39.

2. M. U. II. p. 157 . Eng. Tr. I. p. 392. Raja Basu again revolted in the 41st regnal year / 1596-97 and the imperial army captured the fort of Mau, which was Raja Basu's residence. The latter then shifted to the hills and established his headquarters at Daemarı which he renamed as Nurpur. When Jahangir came to the throne, Raja Basu received the rank of 3500. He died in 1612. M. U. II. pp. 157-60 ; I. A. I. (1872). p. 264 , D. G. Kangra p. 28. Nurpur city is the headquarters of the *tahsil* of the same name in Kangra district, Punjab, situated in 32° 18' N and 75° 55' E. D. G. Kangra (1904). pp. 258-59.

dangerous path. This advice had a sobering effect upon Raja Basu who desisted himself from the path of revolt. He submitted to the imperial army sent against him at Pathankot[3] and expressed his loyalty to the emperor. On 16th November, 1586 he paid his homage to the emperor and begged apology for his recalcitration.[4]

On 24th February, 1587 prince Sultan Murad in accordance with the emperor's order received Mirza Sulaiman, the ruler of Badakhshan, who after being defeated by the Uzbegs proceeded to take refuge with the Mughal emperor, at a distance of 4 miles from Lahore. Todar Mal along with some other officers was present during the welcome ceremony.[5] It seems that the Raja had been living in Lahore since the emperor's arrival there on 27th May, 1586.[6]

A few months later an attempt was made to murder Todar Mal. When on the night of 28th July, 1587 the Raja was proceeding in a palanquin from the royal palace to his house, a certain *khatri* hit him with a sword. The Raja was wounded but fortunately not very seriously. His companions captured and killed the assailant on the spot. After a thorough enquiry it was revealed that the assailant was once punished by Todar Mal for his misbehaviour. This enraged the latter so much that he was determined to avenge this insult. Todar Mal soon recovered from the injury with the help of the emperor, who, as the official historian records, applied *giradam* (a breathing process) on the Raja.[7]

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3. The Persian text (of the A. N.) has Pathan which is identified with Pathankot. M. U. I. Eng. Tr. p. 392 ; I. A. I. (1872). p. 264. Pathankot town is the headquarters of the *tahsil* of the same name in Gurdaspur district, Punjab and lies between 32° 16' N and 75° 40' E. I. G. XX. p. 27.

4. A. N. III. p. 509, Eng. Tr. pp. 776-77.

5. A. N. III. p. 515 ; Eng. Tr. pp. 786-87

6. A. N. III. p. 494 ; Eng. Tr. p. 748.

7. A. N. III. pp. 519-20 ; M. T. II. p. 365. It is difficult to state what actually the word '*giradam*' means. It seems to be a compound

In the middle of September, 1588, Todar Mal had a quarrel with Shahbaz Khan. The emperor ordered 'Abdu-r-Rahim Khan Khanan, Mir Fath Ullah Shirazi entitled *'Azdu-d-daula*, Hakim Abu-l-Fath and Abu-l-Fazl to find out the reasons of the dispute. As a result of their inquiry it was revealed that the dispute arose out of their self-interest and by adopting proper measures it was eventually settled. It should be noted that Abu-l-Fazl neither specifically mentions the self-interest of the contending persons nor the measure to settle the dispute.[8]

In the middle of November of the same year 'Raja Rudar' (i. e., Rudra), the ruler of Kumaon hills,[9] relying upon the assurance of Todar Mal, came to the court and paid homage to the emperor. Raja Rudar used to send presents regularly to the emperor. However, he did not acknowledge the imperial suzerainty. So Mathura Das Sahakal, who then went to the Collectorate of Bareilly, proposed for "a union of concord" and requested Raja Rudar to present himself at the court. The latter readily agreed to Mathura Das' proposal but replied that he was not sure that he would attain such felicity through him. He rather said that if Raja Todar Mal would take his responsibility, he would proceed to the court and pay respects to the emperor. Accordingly Todar Mal sent his son Kalyan Das to assure Raja Rudar and bring him to the court.[10]

This event together with that of Raja Basu indicate the wide influence and respect commanded by Todar Mal upon the regional rulers and landlords of the country.

word meaning holding of breath and this indicates that it is a breathing process.

8. A. N. III. p. 529 ; Eng. Tr. p. 807.

9. Kumaon hill is situated almost entirely in the Himalayas and extends from the borders of Tibet to the damp submontane tract known as the Tarai. It lies between 25° 51' and 35° 5' N and 78° 12' and 81° 3' E. I. G. XVI. p. 18.

10. A. N. III. p. 533 . Eng. Tr. p. 812.

A few months after this event Todar Mal, along with Raja Bhagwant Das and Qulij Khan, was entrusted to look after the imperial administration during the emperor's absence from Lahore for the expedition to Kashmir.[11]

Several months later Todar Mal sent a petition, which reached the emperor on 1st October, 1589, intending to resign from the imperial service as he had become very old and was feeling sick. He desired to pass his last days in worshipping God on the bank of the holy Ganges and also in peace and leisure. Akbar accepted his proposal and wished that his "spirit might obtain relief by this means." On receiving the emperor's communication Todar Mal proceeded from Lahore to Haridwar,[12] on the right bank of the Ganges and one of the sacred places for the Hindus. But before he could go far off he was recalled by the emperor. Akbar put forward the arguments that it would be wiser and better for the Raja to pass his last days in the service of mankind instead of resigning from all services because "no worship of God was equal to the soothing of the oppressed" and this would be his provision for the eternal journey. Todar Mal received the order of recall when he was "at the pond he had built near Lahore." Considering disobedience to the emperor to be morally wrong the Raja came back to rejoin his services at Lahore where he died a few days later (8th November, 1589) at the age of 66 years. His funeral ceremony was attended by Raja Bhagwant Das and others.[13]

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11. A. N. III. p. 537 ; Eng. Tr. p. 817. Akbar left Lahore on the morning of 27th April, 1589.

12. Haridwar or Hardwar is an ancient town and place of pilgrimage in Sahranpur district, U. P., situated in 29° 58' N and 78° 10' E. The city lies on the right bank of the Ganges, at the foot of the Siwaliks closed by the gorge through which the river descends on the plains. I. G. XIII. pp. 51-52.

13. A. N. III. pp. 567, 569-70 ; Eng. Tr. pp. 858, 861-63 T. A. II. p. 409 ; Eng. Tr. pp. 627-28 ; M. T. II. p. 371 ; Eng. Tr. p. 383.

CHAPTER XI

ADMINISTRATIVE AND BENEVOLENT ACTIVITIES

1 Resume of Different Administrative Posts Held

In the preceding chapters we have indicated the principal stages in Todar Mal's career, dwelling on his political and military activities. Let us now pass on to his administrative activities by which he is better known. Unfortunately the contemporary sources do not furnish us with adequate materials. For proper understanding of these activities it is necessary to have a clear idea of his successive appointments to various administrative posts in which he served the Mughal emperor Akbar. These are indicated below in chronological order.

(i) *Diwan-i-Khalsa* (1562-63)

Although he had had considerable influence in the court in 1562, we are in the dark as to the specific post in which he was then serving the Mughal emperor.[1] However, at the end of 970 H/1562-63 we find him holding the post of *diwan-i-khalsa*.[2]

(ii) *Joint Wazir* (1566)

After serving as the *diwan-i-khalsa* for several years he was made joint *wazir* in 1566 with Muzaffar Khan Turbati[3] as the latter continued to hold the post since his appointment in 971 H/1563-64.[4] In this year (1566)

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1. Vide Section I, Chapter II. Before this he had served under Sher Shah. Vide Section IV, Chapter I.
2. Vide Section II, Chapter II.
3. Vide Section V, Chapter II.
4. A. N. II. pp. 197-98 ; T. A. II. p. 170 ; M. T. II. p. 65 ; M. A. Q. p. 93.

Muzaffar Khan and Todar Mal abolished the *jama'-i-raqami qalmi* and introduced a new *jama'* based on the local qanungos' report on actual produce and revenue received.[5]

(iii) *Wazir-i-Ala* (1572)

Todar Mal continued to serve the imperial government in this capacity up to the middle of November, 1572, when Muzaffar Khan Turbati was dismissed. After the latter's dismissal Todar Mal by implication became the *wazir-i-ala* or the sole *wazir* as Muzaffar Khan was replaced by none.[6]

In the last week of September, 1573, Todar Mal was temporarily deputed to settle the *jama'* of Gujarat. The Raja performed this task very creditably and on his return to the court a few weeks later he was highly praised and honoured.[7]

After the Raja's return from Gujarat in November, 1573, the emperor, according to Abu-l-Fazl, desired to promulgate the branding regulations, the conversion of *jagirs* into crown lands and the fixation of the grades of the officer. But as the emperor did not find any assistant fit to execute these measures perfectly, "he on sundry occasions discussed the question with the intimate partakers of his holy entertainments."[8] He further states: "Raja Todar Mal used to submit that it was a good idea which had entered his mind, and it was owing to the general want of understanding among men that the thing had not occurred to them. Assuredly most of the soldiers would be loyal, and their zeal would be increased by this decision. But it was most probable that Mun'im Khan and Muzaffar Khan would not approve of the plan."[9]

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5. Vide Section V, Chapter II. For detailed discussion see 'B', Section II of this Chapter.

6. Vide Section I, Chapter IV.

7. Vide Section III, Chapter IV. The Raja's activities in Gujarat are elaborately discussed in 'C', Section II of this Chapter.

8. A. N. III. p. 69 ; Eng. Tr. p. 95.

9. Ibid.

Apparently it seems from the above account of Abu-l-Fazl that the idea of reforms originated with the emperor. But the way these had been put forward raises our doubts as to who had suggested the reforms—Akbar or Todar Mal.

It is the usual practice of Abu-l-Fazl to credit his patron with all the reforms and innovations. Again, although the author states that the emperor used to consult his "intimate partakers", yet he mentions only Todar Mal. Is it that as Todar Mal placed the idea before the emperor, the author could not but mention him and make him praise the emperor for his original thinking? Our inference is strengthened by the fact that the emperor consulted Todar Mal, the *wazir* or finance minister, instead of Muzaffar Khan Turbati, then the *vakil* or prime minister,[10] regarding such important administrative measures. If the idea occurred to Akbar, it would have been normal for him to consult the *vakil* who was more closely attached to him than *wazir*. This is further strengthened when we study the relevant proposals in the context of Abu-l-Fazl's statement that the detailed report, which Todar Mal was instructed to submit on his work in Gujarat, could be utilised as a guide by the clerks with regards to the matters of soldiers and subjects.[11]

Whoever had proposed the reforms, it is clear that Todar Mal was well acquainted with these important matters and realized their far-reaching effects upon the state.

10. Muzaffar Khan was dismissed from the post of *wazir* in November, 1572, but in November, 1573, he was appointed *vakil* of the empire. A. N. II. p 510; III. pp. 67-69.

11. A. N. III. p. 65. Mr. Moreland and Dr. A. L Srivastava also hold the same view. Mr. Moreland states. "The decision was welcomed or possibly inspired by Raja Todar Mal..." A S. M. I. p. 96. Dr. A. L. Srivastava writes: "It seems that as early as 1573 he (Todar Mal) had suggested to the emperor the desirability of introducing the branding of horses of the royal army, fixation of grades of *mansabdars* and the conversion of *jagir* lands into *khalisa* (crown) territories, to be administered by officers of the state and not by the assignees." *Akbar The Great*. II. p. 52.

Moreover, his caution that Muzaffar Khan and Mun'im Khan would not approve of these reflects his correct understanding not only of the nature of these veteran officers but also of the difficulties to be faced in implementing these proposals.

He was then sent to the eastern provinces to help Mun'im Khan to conquer that region.[13] It seems that Akbar anticipated that it would be a fairly long time for Todar Mal to return and resume his duties. The emperor, therefore, placed Rai Ram Das in March, 1574 temporarily in charge of the *diwani* in order to maintain Todar Mal's principles and procedure of work and the staff serving under him.[14] Abu-l-Fazl states : "An order was issued that the officials should as before be Raja Todar Mal's men, so that neither should the affairs of the *diwani* suffer by the Raja's absence, nor the writing of dismissal be applied to him, and that the confidence of service rendered might be maintained."[14]

12. A. N. III. p. 71.

13. A. N. III. p. 80. Rai Ram Das has been confused with Ram Das Kachhwaha by the *Ma'asiru-l-Umara* (M. U. II. pp. 155-56) and also by Mr. Blochmann (Ain. I. Eng. Tr. pp. 539-40). But it is evident from the *Akbarnamā*, Safdar 'Ali's account and *Ram Das Kachhwaha ki Varta* that they were two separate persons. Rai Ram Das was entrusted with the *diwani* sometime in March, 1574 and appointed head-officer along with Shahbaz Khan, Khwaja Ghiasu-d-din, 'Ali Asaf Khan and Rai Purusottam to look over the functions of 182 collectors then appointed to survey and take care of the crown lands of the empire. Ram Das Kachhwaha, according to R. K. V (f. 10) was sent as the head of a reinforcement to the easteren region on 31st March, 1574. The latter reached Patna on 11th May, 1574 and in January, 1575 he was engaged in Bengal campaign then conducted by Raja Todar Mal (R. K. V f. 11 ; S. A. ff. 3-5). In July, 1595 Akbar appointed *diwans* to 12 provinces and Rai Ram Das was made the *diwan* of Ahmadabad (Gujarat). At this time Ram Das Kachhwaha was entrusted with the checking of the illegal exaction of tolls at the ferries from Lahore to Gujarat (A. N. III. p. 670). All these reveal that Rai Ram Das and Ram Das Kachhwaha were two separate persons.

14. A. N. III. p. 80 ; Eng. Tr. p. 111.

This is a veritable admission by Abu-l-Fazl of Todar Mal's ability and indispensibility as the *diwan*.

(iv) *Mashraf-i-Diwan and de facto Vakil* (1575)

It is thus evident that Todar Mal continued to enjoy the substantive post of *wazir-i-ala* in spite of his deputation to military engagements in the eastern regions of the empire. On his return from the successful eastern campaign in November, 1575, he was honoured with the post of *mashraf-i-diwan* and also made *de facto vakil*.[15] He continued to serve the state in these two capacities in spite of his engagements in Bengal and Gujarat up to September, 1576. At this time Muzaffar Khan Turbati came from Bihar and paid homage to the emperor. Todar Mal and Khwaja Shah Mansur were ordered to discharge their duties in consultation with Muzaffar Khan Turbati who was then highly honoured and exalted with the task of enquiring minutely into the affairs of the empire and of observing the rules of justice.[16] Neither Abu-l-Fazl nor 'Arif Qandhari specifically mentions the post to which Muzaffar Khan Turbati was appointed. But it seems from a subsequent statement of 'Arif Qandhari that Muzaffar Khan Turbati was made *vakil* of the empire for the second time.[17] It is obvious that Todar Mal's *de facto vakilship* terminated with the appointment of Muzaffar Khan Turbati. But he seems to have continued to work as *mashraf-i-diwan* as none of the sources states that he was relieved of the post.

In November, 1577 the emperor summoned Muzaffar Khan Turbati, Raja Todar Mal and Khwaja Shah Mansur to

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15. Vide Section II, Chapter V.

16. A. N. III. pp. 215-16 ; M. A Q. p. 238.

17 'Arif Qandhari states that Muzaffar Khan, who held (the office of) the *wazarat* and *vakilat* of this emperor, was entrusted with the administration of the country of Bang (Bengal). M. A. Q. p. 246. Dr A. L. Srivastava states that Muzaffar Khan "was appointed *vakil* in October, 1577" (*Akbar The Great*. II. p. 50), perhaps, on the basis of the above statement of 'Arif Qandhari.

a Privy Council held in the neighbourhood af Kotputli.[18] Certain important decisions regarding the management of the affairs of the empire were taken after a thorough discussion. Accordingly Shuja'at Khan, Mir Mu'izzu-l-mulk and others were entrusted to look over the affairs of Bihar.

The management of the mints of the empire so long performed by the *chaudhuris* was now assigned to certain most important ministers and officers. The mint of Bengal was entrusted to Todar Mal and those of Fatehpur, Lahore, Jaunpur, Gujarat and Patna to 'Abdu-s-Samad Shirinqalam, Muzaffar Khan, Khwaja Shah Mansur, Khwaja 'Imadu-d-din Husain and Asaf Khan respectively. The Privy Council also decided to mint square rupees.[19]

In the first week of July, 1578 Todar Mal was ordered to arrange the *jagirs* for the officials belonging to Kachhwaha family in the Punjab. At the same time he was instructed to bring under the Mughal suzerainty the chiefs of the northern hill country who had so long refused to do so. He should allow those, who would agree to his proposal, to live in peace and punish the disobedient ones. He was also to forfeit the lands and houses of the disobedient chiefs and distribute these properties among the Mughal officers and men as their wages (*tankhwah*).[20] As Abu-l-Fazl does not specifically mention the hill-states, it is difficult to indentify them. It seems that by the words "the cultivated lands of the northern hill-country" the author meant the hill states of northern Punjab.

Todar Mal performed all these tasks successfully within a very short time. Most of the chiefs of the nothern hill country were persuaded to acknowledge the Mughal suzerainty. The Raja punished those who refused to

18. Kotputli is in the state of Jaipur, Rajasthan, situated in 27° 42' N and 76° 12' E, and about 60 miles north-east from the city of Jaipur. I. G. XVI. pp. 3, 4.

19. A. N. III. p. 227.

20. Ibid. p. 248.

oblige him in accordance with the emperor's instruction.[21] All these successful performances reveal the Raja's great personality and his power of influencing the people. Todar Mal came back to the capital and paid homage to the emperor in the middle of September, 1578.[22]

In the 24th regnal year/1579-80 the emperor in consultation with Todar Mal and Khwaja Shah Mansur made the Ten Years' Settlement and entrusted the Raja and the Khwaja to put the settlement into force. But as the Raja was despatched to Bihar to chastise rebels, the task was performed by Khwaja Shah Mansur.[23]

The Raja formulated Twelve Regulations regarding the revenue administration which got the emperor's approval on 3rd March, 1582.[24] In the same year he reformed the then currency system of the empire.[25] Todar Mal's position as *mashraf-i-diwan* was reiterated in the beginning of the 27th regnal year (11th march, 1582) and he was also made *de facto vakil* for the second time, perhaps, for his creditable formulation of the Twelve Regulations.[26] At the end of this year the Raja was put in charge of the purchase and sale of elephants and grain. In June, 1583, Todar Mal along with Khwaja Yahiya, Rai Durga and Yar 'Ali was put in charge of "the development of the dominions and the appointment and dismissal of the officers of *khalsa*".[27]

In March, 1585 Todar Mal was honoured with the rank of 4000. At this time he was ordered to conduct the financial and administrative affairs of the empire in

21. A. N. III. pp. 248-49.

22. A. N. III. pp. 248, 249, 251. Eng. Tr p. 363.

23. A. N. III. pp. 282-83.

24. Add. 27, 247. f. 331b. For detailed discussion of the Twelve Regulations see 'E', Section II of this Chapter.

25. Add. 27, 247. f. 331b. Todar Mal's currency system is elaborately discussed in Section V of this Chapter.

26. Vide Chapter VIII.

27. A. N. III. pp. 396, 404

accordance with the advice of Mir Fath Ullah Shirazi, the *aminu-l-mulk*.[28]

It seems from Nizamu-d-din and Badayuni that Todar Mal continued to serve Akbar as the chief *diwan* up to the end of his life. In March, 1589 Qulij Khan, according to these writers, was ordered to conduct the financial and administrative affairs in conjunction with the Raja.[29]. This is the last administrative assignment of the Raja before his death in November when Nizamu-d-din had described him "the *vakil-us-sultanat* and the *mashraf-i-diwan*."[30]

II. Contribution to Zabti System

A. Pre-existing System

The brilliant land revenue (*zabti*) system formulated and executed during Akbar's reign was so far-reaching that all succeeding rulers including even the British government were indebted to it.

What was Todar Mal's contribution to the formulation and practical application of the system ?

Abu-l-Fazl, our main source of information, is not a kind writer for the Raja. Regarding some of his important and brilliant activities, the writer is very brief and yields little information. It is, therefore, very difficult to ascertain the exact nature of Todar Mal's contribution. For this purpose one has to look backwards and to examine the pre-existing system in broad outlines. Before Akbar, the land revenue settlement adopted and introduced by Sher Shah was more or less in vogue. And in this field Sher Shah showed greater practical sense and wisdom than any other medieval rulers of India

28. Ibid. p. 457. Before this we find no mention of the Raja's rank.
29. T. A. II. p. 407 , M. T. II. p. 365.
30. T A. II. p. 409. For the Raja's death see Chapter X.

preceding Akbar. A brief review of Sher Shah's system will enable us to evaluate Todar Mal's contribution.

Abu-l-Fazl states that "Sher Khan and Selim Khan under whom Hindustan passed from *ghalla-bakhshi* and *muqta'i* to *zabt*, used this *gaz* (*Iskandari gaz*) in measuring land."[31] *Ghalla-bakhshi* means crop-division[32] and in Hindi it is known as *batai* or *bhaoli*.[33] It is, according to Abu-l-Fazl, a mode of assessment by which the state's demand used to be assessed on the basis of the division of crop by agreement in presence of the parties.[34]

The word *muqta'i* does not find place in the dictionaries. But it seems from *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani* that the word means a fixed amount.[35] The word has been derived from *qat'*. Two other words—*iqta'* (assignment) and *muqata'a* (revenue-farming) have been derived from the same root and the holder of each of them had to pay a fixed amount. *Muqta'i* seems to be a compound word in which the word *muqta'* prevails. In the revenue literature of the 17th century the word *muqta'* was often used in the phrase *bi-l-muqta'* which means "according to agreement", "stipulated", "fixed."[36] It is evident from Article IV of Aurangzeb's *farman* to Muhammad Hashim,[37] *British India Analyzed*[38] and Elliot[39] that the phrase means a fixed amount. That the word *muqta'i* means a fixed amount is indirectly supported by a contemporary account *Daulat-i-Sher Shahi*. It states that according to one of the three methods of assessing state's demand, which

31. Ain. I. p. 296.

32. A. S. M. I. p. 235 ; I. Habib pp. 197-98.

33. Ain. I. p. 286 ; A. S. M. I. p. 235 ; I. Habib. pp. 197-98.

34. Ain. I. p. 286. Assessment on the basis of crop-division is an age-old system practised in India from ancient times. A. S. A. I. pp. 6, 25, 35, 39.

35. *Muzhar-i-Shahjahani*. II. pp. 28, 29, 69, 85 134

36. Steingass. p. 151 ; Memoirs. II. p. 24.

37. *Mughal Administration*. p. 180.

38. *British India Analyzed*. p. 151.

39. Memoirs. II. p. 24.

were in vogue during or before Sher Shah's time, a fixed sum used to be levied.[40] Abu-l-Fzal also mentions three systems of which the two are *ghalla-bakhshi* (crop-division) and *zabt* (measurement). The third one *muqta'i* seems to mean a fixed revenue as is indicated by *Daulat-i-Sher Shahi*. Thus *muqta'i* was a mode of assessment in which a fixed amount was levied every year.

The essential features of *zabt* system, as indicated in Akbar's time, are (i) measurement, (ii) classification of cultivable land and (iii) crop-rates (in cash). But it should be borne in mind that this is the most developed stage of *zabti* system.

Let us now see whether all or most of the said features were present in Sher Shah's system. It has already been stated that in measuring land Sher Shah used a standard measure (*Iskandari gaz*). 'Abbas Khan states that during Sher Shah's reign lands were to be measured at every harvest and revenue was to be received according to the measurement and in proportion to the produce.[41] Measurement and the use of a standard unit of measure for this purpose were not wholly original with Sher Shah. These were in vogue at different times (ancient and medieval) preceding him.[42] Thus we see that one essential feature of Akbar's *zabt* was practised by Sher Shah.

As regards the second essential feature, viz., the classification of lands, none of the contemporary authorities states that Sher Shah practised it.[43]

Again, Abu-l-Fazl states that "the *rai*' which Sher Shah

40. *Medieval India Quarterly*. I. No. 1. p. 62.

41. Elliot. IV. p. 413.

42. A. S. A. I. pp. 13-15, 25, 26, 33, 41, 55, 56, 64, 71, 75. 'Alau-d-din Khilji revived the system of measurement for the purpose of assessment. Zia Barani. pp. 287-88 ; Moreland. p. 33

43. Regarding the classification of land by Sher Shah Dr. P. Saran states : "We have no authority to say so, but it is not unlikely that he did so." J. B. O. R. S. (1931). p. 148. But this suggestion, as Dr. Saran himself admits, is not borne by the facts.

had fixed and at the present day in all provinces less than that is not indicated, found acceptance and for the convenience of the cultivators and soldiery, the value was taken in ready money".[44]

What does the term *rai'* signify ? Just after the above quoted statement Abu-l-Fazl gives two tables of produce per *bigha* of various crops and the revenue thereof under the heading *rai'* of the *rabi* crop of *polaj* (land) and *rai'* of the *kharif* crop.[45] It is evident from the schedules that the yield per *bigha* of every crop was divided on the basis of productivity into three grades (good, middling and bad). An average of the three grades was then determined and a third of the latter was fixed as the state's demand or revenue. This is also stated in clear language by Abu-l-Fazl.[46] Thus the term *rai'* "denotes a schedule of crop-rates prepared for assessment purposes and showing the demand in terms of produce...."[47]. So the third essential feature of *zabt* was also practised by Sher Shah. And in absence of evidence it can be said that this schedule was uniformly applied throughout Hindustan. As we find no previous mention, the credit of innovating this feature should be attributed to him.

It is evident from Sher Shah's *rai'* that he used to demand one-third (1/3) of the average produce as state's share.[48] It is higher than one-sixth (1/6) during the Hindu

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44. Ain. I. p. 297.
45. Ain. I. pp. 297-98
46. Ibid. p. 297.
47. A. S. M. I. p. 276.
48. Ain. I. pp. 297-300. Dr. K. R. Qanungo states that "one-fourth of the expected produce was assessed as the government revenue." In support of his statement he writes. (i) The *Makhzan-i-Afghana* says that Sher Shah wrote to Haibat Khan to take one-fourth of the produce of the land as government revenue from the people of Multan without measuring the land (quoted in Elliot, IV, p. 399 foot-note 1). (ii) Abu-l-Fazl writes, "The revenue levied by Sher Khan, which at the present day is represented in all provinces as the lowest rate of assessment." (Ain. II. 63). From

period and lower than one-half (1/2) charged by 'Alau-d-din Khilji.[49] Besides, two other cesses—*jaribana* (measurement fee) and *muhasilana* (tax collectors' fee) —were also charged.[50] The cultivator was allowed to pay the tax either in kind or in cash.[51]

The last important feature of Sher Shah's system was the direct relation between the state and the cultivators. The care and concern showed by him towards the peasantry and the instructions to punish severely anyone endangering the interests of the cultivators and of cultivation indicate that he dealt with the peasants directly. It should be borne in mind that Sher Shah could not do away with the intermediaries altogether. We find incidental reference to them in the contemporary accounts. Apart from the lands under the direct rule, those under the intermediaries were also regulated by the state regulations. Sher Shah also took various steps for the welfare of the peasantry and to give them relief in times of distress.[52]

the same writer we learn elsewhere that Akbar later on raised it to one-third (ibid. p. 66). So, it is evident that Sher Shah's demand must have been lower than that.' *Sher Shah.* 1st ed. pp. 373-74 and the footnote. But it is difficult to accept Dr. Qanungo's statement. First, the case of Multan, as Mr. Moreland has pointed out, was a special one because it "had suffered greatly from disorder." A. S. M. I. p. 75. That Multan's was the special case is evident from Sher Shah's order in which the governor Haibat Khan was ordered to observe the local customs and levy only one-fourth of the produce without measuring the land which was Sher Shah's normal practice. Dr. P. Saran also holds this view. Secondly, nowhere in the Ain, as Dr. Saran has pointed out, Abu-l-Fazl writes that "Akbar later on raised it to one-third". J. B. O. R. S. (1931). pp. 146-47.

49. Barani. p, 287 ; Elliot. III. p. 182 ; J. A. S. B. XXXIX. p. 382.

50. Elliot. IV. p. 313.

51. Ibid. The payment both in kind and cash has been in vogue in India from the ancient times.

52. Elliot. IV. pp. 313-14, 414 ; *Medieval India Quarterly.* I. No. 1. pp. 9-11. Modern Scholars viz., Dr. K. R. Qanungo and Dr. P. Saran also hold the view that Sher Shah established direct relation with the peasantry. *Sher Shah.* pp. 378-80 ; J. B. O. R. S. (1931). pp. 144-45.

For the purpose of revenue administration there was appointed in every *pargana* one *'amil*, one *shiqdar*, one treasurer (*fotahdar*) and two *karkuns*—one to write in Hindi and another to write in Persian. But it was the *'amil* who actually conducted the revenue administration of the *pargana*.[53]

B. *Abolition of Jama'-i-Raqami Qalmi and Introduction of a New Jama' Based on Local Qanungos' Report*

The first important work regarding land settlement in which Todar Mal had a hand was made in the 11th regnal year of Akbar (10th March, 1566—9th March, 1567) and practically this was first major experiment of Akbar's reign in this field.[54] In this year Muzaffar Khan Turbati and Todar Mal set aside the revenue demand recorded in kind (*jama'-i-raqami qalmi*).[55] This *jama'* was in force from the beginning of Akbar's reign. It used to be based on the schedule of crop-yields and prices thereof (crop-rates) as inherited from Sher Shah and commuted into cash-rates on the basis of current prices.[56] But this method of levying state's demand (*jama'*) became a source of corruption and exploitation because the revenue demand used to be increased and decreased at will and bribes were frequently taken for the purpose.[57]

53. Elliot. IV. pp. 413-14.

54. A. N. II. p. 270; Ain. I. p. 347. According to the A. N. this reform was made in the 11th regnal year/1566-67 whereas the Ain states that it was introduced in the 15th regnal year/1570-71. But it has already been stated that the reform described in the two books are one and same and made in the same year i. e., in the 11th regnal year. For a detailed discussion of this controversial point see Appendix I.

55. *Raqam* means kind. Dr. A. L. Srivastava states that technically *raqam* means grain and is still in use in this sense in some parts of U. P. *Akbar The Great*. II. p. 171 n 34. So *jama-i-raqami qalmi* means revenue demand recorded in kind.

56. Ain. I. pp. 347-86.

57. Ibid. p. 347; A. N. II. p. 270.

In order to redress the abuses Muzaffar Khan Turbati and Todar Mal obtained from the local *qanungos* the schedules of produce and assessed revenue prepared on their knowledge of actual yield (*taqsimat-i-mulk*)[58] and having completed the *mahsul* (revenue) by estimate and computation, brought into force a new *jama'*. Ten superior *qanungos* were employed by them to collect the statistics from their local *qanungos*. Although the revenue demand

58. Scholars differ on their interpretation of the word *taqsimat*. According to Moreland, it means the schedules or rates (of produce and revenue). A. S. M. I. pp. 243-45. Dr. I. H. Qureshi holds almost the identical view. He identifies "*taqsimat* with schedules or state demand depending upon yield." *The Administration of the Mughal Empire*. pp. 270-71. Dr. Irfan Habib on the other hand interprets it as local area and revenue statistics. *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*. pp. 203n35. Dr A. L. Srivastava states that 'the word really implies details regarding the cultivated and uncultivated land, produce of the soil and statistics of revenue." *Akbar The Great*. II. p. 174n42. It is evident that all the scholars support our view that *taqsimat* implies the statistics of revenue (assessed) and that it also means statistics of produce is also supported by all but Dr. I. Habib. It has already been stated that the reform stated in the Ain is similar to that given in the account of the 11th regnal year in the *Akbar-nama*. It states "*Qanungos* and experts of the whole empire, having, according to their own ideas, recorded the actual yield (*hal hasil*) of the country, fixed another *jama'*. A. N. II. p. 270 ; Eng. Tr. pp. 402, 403. The *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri* states almost the same thing. Iqbalnama. f. 62a ; it is thus evident that as the *qanungos* and other experts assessed revenue demand on the basis of their knowledge of actual yield, it is obvious that they would show in their report the schedules of produce, the basis of assessment. This clearly points out that *taqsimat* also implies the statistics of produce. As for the area statistics which, according to Dr. I. Habib and Dr. A. L. Srivastava, the word *taqsimat* also implies, it can be said that the word, as used by Abu-l Fazl, does not include it. First, it should be borne in mind that the measurement of land was first conducted during Akbar's reign in September-October. 1573 (18th regnal year) by Todar Mal in Gujarat and general measurement was introduced in January, 1575 (19th regnal year). So how could area statistics be included in the word *taqsimat* in the 11th or 15th regnal year when measurement was not adopted ?

thus assessed was still 'far away' from (the demand based on) the actual produce (*hasil*), yet it was undoubtedly more rational and closer to *hasil*.[59]

It seems from the change noticeable from the 10th regnal year/1565-66 onwards in the Nineteen Years' Statistical Table in the Ain that Muzaffar Khan and Todar Mal also discarded the old *dastur* (schedule of crop-rates in cash) and replaced it with a more rational *dastur* for every province. It is also noticeable that the rates are often in maximum and minimum figures and these seem to represent the divergence in rates declared for different areas within the province.[60] This means that local grain-rates had been determined. It also seems from the Nineteen Years' Table of the Ain that henceforth every separate schedule of cash-rates for different localities was to be made afresh.[61]

This method of assessing revenue-demand (*jama'*) was undoubtedly an improvement upon Sher Shah's system and also dealt with the core of the problems. Sher Shah's single schedule of grain-rates for the entire Hindustan did not take into account the local variations and specialities, viz., productivity, prices etc., and there remained a wide gap between the actual revenue-paying capacity of the cultivator and the state's demand. This caused great hardship to the cultivators and a wide gap between the revenue assessed and actually received (*jama'* and *hasil*). Muzaffar Khan Turbati and Todar Mal had made separate *dasturs* for various localities. This paved the way for instituting a more rational revenue-demand upon the peasants and gave relief to the latter to a great extent. Again, by assessing the revenue-demand on the basis of the schedules of produce and assessed revenue supplied by the local *qanungos*, an attempt was made, for the first time, to make the *jama'* (revenue-demand) equal to *hasil* (revenue actually received). As the joint formulators of this improved method of assessing

59. Ain. I. p. 347 ; A. N. II. p. 270.
60. Ain. I. pp. 304-47.
61. Ain. I. pp. 304-47.

jama' Todar Mal shared jointly with Muzaffar Khan Turbati the credit for these improvements.

C. Settlement in Gujarat

The second administrative experiment of Todar Mal was made in Gujarat. None of the contemporary authorities viz., Abu-l-Fazl, Nizamu-d-din and Badayuni, however, throw much light on his performance there. We have, therefore, to depend mostly on later works like the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* and the *Ma'asiru-l-Umara* for a fair account of his work in Gujarat.

The exact period of Todar Mal's deputation in Gujarat is uncertain. According to Abu-l-Fazl, it was extremely short, as the Raja went to Gujarat on 29th September, 1573[62] and returned to court sometime in November of the same year.[63] But according to the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Todar Mal was in Gujarat at least for six months. It is stated there that "lands of the *parganas* (of Gujarat) were measured within six months by Raja Todar Mal under a royal order during the regime of His Majesty Akbar".[64]

We intend to accept Abu-l-Fazl's version as he has strictly maintained the chronology in narrating the events. 'Ali Muhammad, the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, on the other hand, makes the above statement in the 'Introduction' of the said treatise, while in his narration of the events, he writes that Todar Mal "set right within a short time the investigated assessment of this province and submitted it to the royal record office."[65] It seems that, perhaps, 'Ali Muhammad has mistakenly written six months in place of six weeks.

No clear picture emerges from the contemporary accounts of Todar Mal's activities in Gujarat. The Raja

62. A. N. III. p. 65.
63. Ibid. p. 67.
64. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*. I. p. 25.
65. Ibid. p. 132.

was instructed by the emperor to make a just or correct settlement or assessment of the revenue of the country of Gujarat "without regard to the covetous demands of men,"[66] and to submit the settlement to the court 'so that the clerks might act according to it with reference to soldiers and subjects."[67]

Accordingly Todar Mal made a just assessment of the land revenue of the province disregarding the covetous demands of local important personnel like *mansabdars, jagirdars* etc. On his return from Gujarat the Raja submitted a report to the emperor. Accroding to Abu-l-Fazl, he "made over to the imperial archives a corrected settlement (*jama' manaqqah*) of those territories."[68] The *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* also states almost the same thing.[69] Todar Mal's service in this regard was highly commendable. Nizamu-d-din states that Todar Mal was highly praised for his performance,[70] while Badayuni writes that "the emperor presented a sword to Raja Todar Mal,"[71] evidently as a reward for his service in Gujarat. Abu-l-Fazl's statement quoted above suggests that he must have gone through the document. If so, why does he not give details of the Raja's report? It seems that in his anxiety to credit his patron, Akbar, with success in every conceivable and important reform, he necessarily used to ignore or neglect the achievements of others. Since the author was evidently prejudiced against the Raja, the latter's activities were not adequately reported in his work and the credit due to him was given to the author's patron. It is only in the case of Twelve Regulations regarding revenue administration formulated by Todar Mal in the

66. A. N. III. p. 65.
67. A. N. III. p. 65 , T. A. II. p. 275 ; M. T. II. p. 170.
68. A. N. III. p. 67 ; Eng. Tr. p. 93.
69. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*. I. p. 131.
70. T. A. II. p. 277.
71. M. T. II. p. 171.

26th regnal year/1581-82 that the author could overcome his antipathy to Raja Todar Mal and give the Regulations in detail.

The *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, though a late work, has referred to considerable detail based on contemporary documents and histories and its evidence is, therefore, of great value in assessing Todar Mal's work.[72] Besides, stating all that has been narrated by the contemporary authorities, the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* gives us some additional information regarding Todar Mal's work in Gujarat. Todar Mal, according to it, measured 44 of 184 *mahals* of Gujarat. These were found to contain 12, 360, 594 *bighas* and 9 *biswas*; out of this 8, 347, 498 *bighas* and 3 *biswas* were cultivable. The rest was either inhabited or full of jungles.[73]

The similarity of the Mirat's account with that of a contemporary document named *Haqiqat-i-Raqba Todar*

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72. It is not irrelevant to quote Acharya Jadunath Sarkar's comments regarding the authenticity of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*. "But from the reign of Akbar onwards, his book is unique among the Persian histories of India inasmuch as the author has incorporated in it the full texts of a very large number of official letters and orders of the imperial government, e. g, *farmans*, *parwanahs* and *dastur-ul-'amals*. Thus the raw materials of social and administrative history have been preserved for us." *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*. II. Foreword. p VI.

73. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*. I. p. 25. Dr. Irfan Habib questions the authenticity of the Mirat's account of Todar Mal's survey of Gujarat. He writes : "But the total figure is very close to that of Aurangzeb's statistics and *Chahar Gulshan* and the specification of the unmeasured *sarkars*, with one exception, is the same as the latter. One can, therefore, hardly doubt that the attribution of Todar Mal's survey is imaginary and figures are really taken from the record of Aurangzeb's reign." *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*. p. 18. But it is difficult to accept Dr. Habib's view. He himself admits the difference between the statistics of the Mirat and that of Aurangzeb and also between the specified unmeasured *sarkars* of the Mirat and those of Aurangzeb's time. Moreover, the similarity of the Mirat's account with a (later mentioned) contemporary document indicates Mirat's authenticity clearly.

Mali Pargana Bhagalpur Sarkar Monghyr Mazaf Subah Bihar 1001 Fasli (1593-94) indicates that the Mirat's account is, on the whole, authentic and reliable. This document contains the detailed area statistics of the *pargana* Bhagalpur recorded in 1593-94 and the very association of Todar Mal's name with it indicates that in surveying the area and in recording the area statistics Todar Mal's method was followed. In this document also we find that the total surveyed land was divided into cultivable and non-cultivable land, the latter being either inhabited or jungles etc.[74]

The Mirat also states that the Raja appointed *desais* in all divisions. The cultivators had to pay 2½ per cent (of their produce) to the *desais* for subsistence. During the governorship of 'Aziz Koka this was reduced to half. The Raja also allowed the *zamindar* of Rajpipla to retain 16 *parganas* near Nandurbar in *sarkar* Nandot which the *zamindar* had been occupying since the reign of the Sultan of Gujarat.[75]

D. Classification of Land

Without referring to Todar Mal at all Abu-l-Fazl has, in his *Ain-i-Akbari*, mentioned the classification of lands into 4 categories, the principle of classification being the continuity or discontinuity of cultivation.

"*Polaj* is land which is annually cultivated for each crop in succession and is never allowed to lie fallow.

Parauti is land left out of cultivation for a time that it may recover its strength.

Chachar is land that has lain fallow for three or four years.

Banjar is land uncultivated for five years and more."[76]

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74. This is a revenue document preserve in the state archives of Bihar. For a detailed description see the bibliography.

75. Mirat. Supplementary Volume. Eng. Tr. pp. 193, 197.

76. Ain. I. p. 297, Eng. Tr. II. p. 68. It is evident from Abu-l-Fazl's account of this 'Ain' that to assess the state's share upon the

The question is: who had devised the principle of classification? Abu-l-Fazl, as usual, states in the *Ain-i-Akbari*: "When His Majesty had determined the *gaz*, the *tanab*, and the *bigha*, in his profound sagacity he classified the lands and fixed a different revenue to be paid by each."[77] Surprisingly enough, such an important innovation of Akbar does not find mention in the *Akbarnama*. Again, the date of its introduction is also uncertain. The *Gaz-i-Ilahi*, according to the *Ain-i-Akbari*, was introduced in the 31st regnal year/1586-87[78] while the *Akbarnama* states that it was determined in the 33rd regnal year/1588-89.[79]

As in the *Akbarnama* Abu-l-Fazl has strictly maintained the chronology of events, the date given in it should be preferred to that of the *Ain-i-Akbari*. Even if we accept the date (31st regnal year/1586-87) given in the Ain, it has to be reasonably held that the classification of land took place either in that year or after. But Abu-l-Fazl's version in the Ain has been contradicted by his own account in the *Akbarnama* for he himself indirectly admits that it was already in practice in the 26th regnal year/1581-82. We

first two classes of land Sher Shah's method used to be applied. But in case of the last two kinds this method was not applied. A gradual increasing process was practised to reach the regular demand, 1/3rd of the produce, as reflected in the *rai'* of the *polaj* land. In case of *chachar* land for the first year 2/5ths of the stipulated one-third (⅓) of the produce was taken, in the second year 3/5ths, in the third year 4/5ths and in the fifth year the ordinary revenue. In *banjar* land for the first year, one or two *sers* were taken from each *bigha*; in the second year five *sers*; in the third year 1/6th of the produce; in the fourth year 1/4th of the produce together with one *dam*; in other years 1/3rd sufficed. This varied somewhat during inundations. Ain. I. p. 296. The revenue of the first two classes of land should be paid in cash, while those of the last two kinds could be given either in kind or in cash. Ain. I. pp. 301-303.

77. Ain. I. p. 297.
78. Ibid. p. 296.
79. A. N. III. p. 529.

learn from him that in that year Todar Mal made important regulations regarding revenue administration including classification of land. He states that the Raja "made anew the obligatory rules consisting of 12 sections and presented them before the holy (king) through the royal court for approval. On the day of *Za'i* 23rd *Isfandar Ilahi* month corresponding to 7th Safar/3rd March, 1582 (these) were distinguished with honourable approval."[80] Abu-l-Fazl then proceeds to describe in detail the working principles of the crown-lands etc. The 3rd of the Twelve (12) recorded articles mentions four classes of land and of these two viz., *polaj* and *banjar*, are specifically mentioned by name.[81]

It is thus clear that the principle of classification adopted in the 26th regnal year is identical with that of the Ain's. Hence it may reasonably be held that the credit of devising the principle of classification of land, attributed by Abu-l-Fazl to Akbar in the Ain, should really go to Todar Mal. The author's conspicuous silence in the *Akbarnama* regarding this important innovation when read with other similar instances of omitting Todar Mal's name also becomes an additional proof of this contention. This is further strengthened by the account of the Ma'asir.[82]

This classification of land into four kinds on the basis of continuity of cultivation or its absence was another definite improvement upon Sher Shah's system. The latter did not classify land. Sher Shah divided the produce into three kinds—good, middling and bad—on the basis of

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80. Add 27, 247. f 331 b. Also see Appendix III.

81. Ibid. f. 331 b. The lands which had remained fallow for 3 or 4 years, in the 1st year ¼ of the fixed (rent), in the 2nd year ¼th less and in other years according to the rules of the *polaj*. In the *banjar* land, as it has been stated previously, 1/20th of the crop per *bigha* should be taken. The Persian Text (A. S. ३.) gives almost the identical account without mentioning the name of two kinds of land, *polaj* and *banjar*. A. N. III. pp. 381-82.

82. "The Raja (Todar Mal) classified land as *polaj*, *parauti*, *chachar* and *banjar*...". M. U. Eng. Tr. II. p. 955.

yields per *bigha* and levied one third of the average of the three kinds of yields as the state's dues. What Todar Mal did was to combine Sher Shah's grading of land with his own classification in order to determine the state's share in the case of *polaj* and *parauti*.

The new system had some decided advantages over the earlier system of Sher Shah. Sher Shah's principle of gradation signifies that any land (irrespective of productive capacity), whenever cultivated, had to pay the state's share on the basis of this gradation. But it had certain glaring shortcomings. On account of calculation of average produce the first category (good) got the benefit of giving much less than 1/3rd of its produce ; whereas the third category (bad) had to incur great loss as it had to pay much more than 1/3rd of its produce. But Todar Mal's classification of the cultivable lands neutralised this defect to a great extent. It is true that he did not follow the more scientific principle of fertility or productive capacity and of levying the state's demand on a differential scale. But by following the principle of the continuity or discontinuity of cultivation he had indirectly admitted the principle of productivity. The lands which could be cultivated every year without any break were no doubt of greater productive capacity or more fertile than those which were to be kept fallow for one or two or more years. This principle may be traced in the following passage in the Ain : "*Banjar* land at the foot of the hills and land subject to inundations in the districts of Sanbhal and Bahraich, do not remain as *banjar*, for so much new soil is brought down with the overflow that it is richer and more productive than *polaj*. His Majesty, however, in his large munificence places it in the same class."[83] It can thus be said that each of *parauti*, *chachar* and *banjar* land was of lesser productivity than that of *polaj*.

By separating each of these three classes of lands of lesser productivity and demanding 1/3rd of the produce as

83. Ain. I. p. 303 ; Eng. Tr. II. p. 75.

the state's share from each of them Todar Mal had mitigated the burden of their cultivators to a great extent. As the amount of the yield per *bigha* of each of them was much less than that of *polaj*, their cultivators had to pay much less than their counterparts in the *polaj* lands. Moreover, their burden was further neutralised by prescribing a gradual process to reach the required 1/3rd of the produce. In Sher Shah's system any land producing less than the average amount of the *polaj* land, whenever cultivated, had to pay more than 1/3rd of its produce, but in Todar Mal's system only the cultivators of those lands belonging to *polaj* and *parauti* which produced less than the average had to bear the burden of paying more and those producing more than the average could enjoy the benefit of giving less than 1/3rd of their produce.

There are variations (in details) between the Ain's regulation and that of Todar Mal as given in the *Akbarnama* regarding the period during which the different kinds of lands were to be kept fallow and the proportion of the royal dues to be paid in different years. As Todar Mal's Regulation was formulated in the 26th regnal year/1581-82, it is earlier than that of the Ain which was made after the introduction of the *Ilahi gaz* in the 31st regnal year/1586-87. It seems that the variations in details gradually developed through experience during the intervening period.

According to the Ain, the *parauti* lands were to be kept fallow for sometime whereas Todar Mal's Regulation specifically states that they should be kept uncultivated for two years. Again, the Ain says: "*Parauti* land when cultivated, pays the same revenue as *polaj*" while it was to pay, according to Todar Mal's Regulation, one-fourth (¼) less than the *polaj* in the 1st year and from 2nd year onwards according to the rules of the *polaj*. Todar Mal's Regulation provides a concession of paying less than what is indicated in the Ain for the 1st year.

As regards *chachar* land both are in agreement regarding the period of keeping it fallow. But there are some

differences. The Ain prescribes two-fifths (2/5) of the stipulated one-third (1/3) in the 1st year, three-fifths (3/5) in the 2nd year, four-fifths (4/5) in the 3rd year and ordinary revenue i. e., one-third (1/3) in the 5th year without mentioning the state's share in the 4th year. Todar Mal's Regulation states that half (½) of the fixed revenue in the 1st year, in the 2nd year three-fourths (3/4) and in the 3rd year according to *polaj* or one-third (1/3) of the produce should be levied as the state's dues. In this case the Ain's Regulation is a bit lenient.[84]

Regarding *banjar* land Todar Mal's Regulation does not mention the period of keeping it fallow and the rate of revenue to be paid in different years. But the Ain specifically mentions the period when it was left out of cultivation and gives a detailed arrangement of the rates of revenue in different years.

It should be noticed that neither Todar Mal's Regulation nor the Ain states from when *parauti*, *chachar* and *banjar*

84. Gradual increase in taxation comes as follows :

		1st year	2nd year	3rd year	4th year	5th year
Parauti	Ain	1/3	—	—	—	—
	T.M.	1/3-1/12 =1/4	1/3	—	—	—
Chachar	Ain	2/5 × 1/3 =2/15	3/5 × 1/3 =1/5	4/5 × 1/3 =4/15	—	1/3
	T.M.	1/2 × 1/3 =1/6	3/4 × 1/3 =1/4	1/3	—	—
Banjar	Ain	1 or 2 Sers	5 Sers	1/6	1/4	1/3
	T.M.	1/20	—	—	—	—

lands were to be kept fallow. But it is evident from the rate of revenue in different years that once taken under cultivation they (the lands belonging to *parauti*, *chachar* and *banjar*) used to be cultivated continually for several years. It seems, therefore, that when after several years of cultivation they lost fertility to such a degree that they failed to pay the minimum amount of revenue expected from them, they were then left fallow for the prescribed years as specified before.

The classification of land itself was not a new thing. But the principle on the basis of which it was made was no doubt a new one. In ancient India we find the mention of low lands and up-lands in the *Arthasastra* of Kautilya.[85] It seems that here the classification was on the basis of the character of the soil. But it is not clear whether this classification was made for the purpose of assessment. Again, the classification of lands by Muslim jurists into three kinds : (i) *Ushri*, (ii) *Kharaji* and (iii) Sulhi and the prescription of the state's demand was mainly on the basis of religion. The Muslim conquerors of India came with this knowledge and practised it in India to some extent.[86]

When was the classification of land formulated by Todar Mal ? In absence of any positive evidence it is very difficult

85 *Arthasastra*. p. 158 ; A. S A. I. pp. 7, 13, 16.

86 Ain. II. Eng. Tr. pp. 60, 63 , *Akbar The Great* II. pp. 165-66.

The *Ushri* lands are those where the prophet and four righteous khalifs levied tithe (1/10th of the produce as the state's share) viz., the entire land of the Arabs, Bashrah or whose owners became Muslims of their own accord or which were conquered by force and divided among the victorious Muslim army or which were converted into gardens by their Muslim owners or waste land developed for cultivation by Muslims with the imam's permission.

The *Kharaji* lands are those upon which *Kharaj* (land tax) was imposed by Omar namely, Iraq, Syria, Egypt, all conquered lands where the original non-Muslim owners were allowed to live (except Mecca), waste lands developed by non-Muslims or by Muslims by *Kharaji* water etc.

Sulhi lands are those gained by treaty. *Mohammadan Theory of Finance* by Nicholas Agnides. pp. 359-76.

to ascertain the date. It is necessary to determine as to whether it was incorporated in the Ten Years' Settlement which was made in the 24th regnal year/1579-80 of Akbar.[87] The Ten Years' Settlement was the final and last measure in the method of assessing land revenue during Akbar's reign. It seems that the grain rates, as given in the Ain, might have been changed in details between the 24th regnal year/1579-80, when they were put into force and the 40th regnal year/1595-96, when they were finally adopted, but the general method of assessment was clearly maintained.[88] It is obvious that an important principle like the classification must have been practised during the preparation of table of grain rates for different circles on the basis of which the final change in the method of assessment was made.[89] Otherwise, the classification of land would have been superfluous and meaningless.

The practice of assessing the state's demand on the basis of the statistics of produce and the revenue received and the current market price involved some grave problems. It was very difficult to ascertain each year the prices current and prepare the *dasturs* or grain rates in cash timely. These drawbacks were aggravated with the extension of the empire. As a result much inconvenience was caused by the delay. "The cultivators complained of extensive exactions and on the other hand the *jagir*-holders were aggrieved on account of the revenue balance", for which they were harassed and tortured by the revenue department. As a remedy to these defects, the emperor in consultation with Raja Todar Mal, the *mashraf-i-diwan*, and Khwaja Shah Mansur, the *wazir*, introduced the Ten Years' Settlement.[90] It was adopted, according to the Ain, in the following way.

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87. A. N. III. p. 282 ; Ain. I. p. 347.

88. Mr. Moreland also holds this view. A. S. M. I. p. 89.

89. Dr. A. L. Srivastava holds almost the identical view. *Akbar The Great*. II. p. 177.

90. A. N. III. p. 282; Ain. I. pp. 347-48.

"From the 15th to the 24th (1566-67 to 1579-80) year 'they' added up the *mahsul-i-dahsala* (produce and revenue of ten years) and took one-tenth (1/10) of that as *mal-i-harsala* (annual revenue) ; but they took the 20th to 24th years as ascertained and the five previous (years) from the statements of upright men".[91] It is thus evident that the information for the last five years (20th-24th year) was obtained by way of actual knowledge. It is known from the *Akbarnama* that sometime in January, 1575 (19th regnal year) the emperor appointed able and trustworthy men "to survey the spacious territories of Hindustan and to determine the amount of production and establish *zabt* (system) so that the market of embezzlers might fall flat".[92]

It seems that during the measurement and the determination of the amount of produce the classification of land must have been considered and practised. As there was no *vakil* at this time and Todar Mal, the *wazir* was engaged in military operation in Bengal, a board of officers was instituted to supervise the said and other measures adopted by the emperor at this time (January, 1575).[93] It should be borne in mind that in September, 1573, Todar Mal was ordered to settle the revenue affairs of Gujarat and submit detailed report thereof for the future guidance of the revenue department which the Raja did creditably. It has already been shown that the Raja measured a great portion of the land of Gujarat and assessed the revenue

91. Ain. I. p. 348. The translation is that made by Mr. Moreland. A. S. M. I. p. 249. Abu-l-Fazl writes in the *Akbarnama* that "the essence of this innovation is that having ascertained the ten years' state (*hal-i-dahsala*) of every *pargana* in regard to the categories of cultivation and the levels of prices, they fixed the tenth part thereof as the annual revenue (*mal-i har-sala*)." A. N. III. pp. 282-83. The translation is that made by Dr. Irfan Habib. I. Habib. p. 206.

92. A. N. III. p. 117.

93. Ibid.

on its basis. Again, in March, 1574, Rai Ram Das was entrusted with the affairs of *diwani* during the absence of Todar Mal in the eastern provinces. But Akbar wisely took steps to ensure the continuance of Todar Mal's principle and procedure of work and so issued order "that the officials should as before be Raja Todar Mal's men, so that neither should the affairs of the *diwan* suffer by the Raja's absence, nor the writing of dimissal be applied to him, and that the confidence of service rendered might be maintained."[94] With these orders in the background it seems that the newly appointed officials were guided in their work by the method adopted by Todar Mal. It is, therefore, obvious that the classification of land, which they applied during their survey and assessment, was taken from the Raja who seems to have already formulated it at the time of assessing the revenue of Gujarat.

E. Twelve Regulations

It is known from Abu-l-Fazl that although the execution of the *Ain-i-Dahsala* or Ten Years' Settlement[95] was entrusted to Todar Mal, the *mashraf-i-diwan*, and Khwaja Shah Mansur (who held the post of *diwan* from November, 1576 to August, 1580 and November, 1580 to February, 1581), it was actually put into force by the Khwaja as the Raja was sent to chastise the rebels in the eastern region of the empire.[96] But it seems that Shah Mansur, who was only concerned with the collection of revenue and replenishing the treasury,[97] did not give attention to various problems that cropped up during the execution of the *Ain-i-Dahsala*. Consequently these caused various troubles. So, on the order of the emperor, Todar Mal, who "had the

94. A. N. III. p. 80; Eng. Tr. p. 111.

95. It has already been stated in 'D' of this Section how the Ten Years' Settlement was made.

96. A. N. III. pp. 282-83.

97. Ibid. p. 316.

knowledge of the world", and who had become free from the eastern campaign, made rules for removing these difficulties and ensuring the smooth running of the revenue department.[98] This "far-sighted and incorruptible man, who understood the secrets of administration",[99] formulated Twelve Regulations[100] regarding revenue administration defying all obstacles. These were duly approved by the emperor on 3rd March, 1582 and put into force.[101]

The Twelve Regulations throw considerable light on the various features of Akbar's revenue administration. These relate to organisational structure, procedure of measurement, unit of assessment, method of collection, loan, relief and the working of the central revenue department. These Regulations also sought to remedy the defects existing there prior to their formulation and adoption.

Organisational Structure

Most of the Twelve Regulations dealt with various functions of the collectors, known variously as the *karori* or *'amil* or *'amalguzar*.[102] These related to survey and measurement, assessment and collection, loan, relief and extension of cultivation. Since the Regulations treated the *pargana* as the unit of revenue administration, it may be held that the *pargana* constituted the jurisdiction of these officers. This

98. Ibid. p. 381.

99. A. N. III p. 381 ; Eng. Tr. p. 561.

100. There are two versions of Todar Mal's Twelve Regulations. One is contained in the MS of the *Akbarnama* (Add. 27, 247, British Museum) and the other is in the Persian Text of the *Akbarnama* as published by A. S. B. Our study is on the basis of both the versions. For the translation and a comparative study of both the versions see Appendix—III.

101. Add. 27, 247. f. 331 b ; A. N. III. p. 381.

102. The terms *'amil* and *karori* are used in the version contained in the MS of *Akbarnama* in the British Museum. Add. 27, 247. f. 331 b. The term *'amalguzar* is used in the printed Persian Text, published by A. S. B. A. N. III. p. 381.

view is also corroborated by Article X of Amir Fath Ullah Shirazi's Recommendations, formulated in the 30th regnal year/1585-86, which states : "After the collectors (*'amils*) have been removed, they remain in the *pargana* for the purpose of collecting arrears."[103] This indicates that the *'amil* was appointed over a *pargana* and thus confirms our assumption.

It is well known that the *karori* experiment was originally introduced in 1575. In that year most of the lands of the empire was converted into *khalsa* and 182 *'amils* were appointed to administer them. Each of them was put over an extent of territory yielding (a revenue of) one *karore* of *dam* and thus appeared the term *karori.*[104] But the experiment did not work well. Todar Mal's Regulations indicate that *karori* became the nomenclature of the collector of a *pargana.* It is also evident from the Ain's provincial statistics that none of the *parganas* yielded a revenue of one *karore* of *dam* which was the basis of the designation, *karori.* The exact date when the original *karori* system broke down is, however, not known. But a critical study of the Twelve Regulations of Todar Mal would make it abundantly clear that by the 26th regnal year/1581-82 when the Twelve Regulations were formulated and adopted, the *karori* lost his original jurisdiction and the very basis of his designation and that the *karori*'s jurisdiction was reduced to *pargana* only. In other words the *karori* had just become the collector in the *pargana.*[105]

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103. Articles III-IX, T. M's Regulations, Appendix—III ; A. N. III. p. 458 ; Eng. Tr. p. 691.

104. A. N. III. p. 117 ; T. A. II. pp. 300, 301 ; M. T. II. p. 189.

105. Dr. Irfan Habib writes : "when the *karori* experiment was wound up and the assignments began to be granted again, the name *karori* still stuck to the *'amil* or *'amalguzar* of the *khalisa* set over a *pargana* or group of *parganas.*" In the note below he states : "This is nowhere explicitly stated, but is clear from the numerous references to the *karori* in the records of the subsequent period." I. Habib. p. 275 and n10. But we

Moreover, it seems from the simultaneous use of the three terms—*karori*, *'amil* and *'amalguzar*—that they were synonymous i. e., their rank, position and power were same.[106] The *karoris* or *'amils* or *'amalguzars* had to send petitions and reports of their work to the headquarters and were appointed by the central government. They used to get payment in 4 instalments in cash, of which ¼th used to be withheld till the collection of all dues from the cultivators.[107]

Besides the collector, there were a series of officials viz., *bitikchi* (writer and accountant), *karkun* (writer and registrar of account), *fotadar/tahvildar* (treasurer), *qanungo*, *chaudhuri* (headman of a village or a group of villages), *muqaddam* (village-headman), *kalantar* (chief man of a village or town), *patwari* (village accountant), *tahsildar* (collector), *mustaufi* (auditor of accounts), *mutasaddi* (deputy or agent of the government), *amin* (surveyor), *saraff* (money-exchanger) etc. The Regulations yield very meagre information regarding the functions of these officials. But these are well known from other sources.

It is evident from the Regulations that prior to their adoption there were two *bitikchis* attached to each collector (*'amil* or *karori* or *'amalguzar*). In order to check oppression, details of which are given later, the Regulations prescribed that one instead of two *bitikchis* should be appointed. This means that there would be only one

have shown on the basis of the document of Akbar's reign that by 1581-82 the *karori's* jurisdiction was reduced to *pargana* only and this continued to be so.

106. It is clear from the above note that Dr. Irfan Habib also holds this view. Dr. A. L. Srivastava seems to hold the same opinion. He writes that the *'amil* of the *pargana* is sometimes called *'karori'*. Further he states : "The *'amalguzar* or collector of which there was one in each *pargana* collected land revenue directly from the individual cultivator." *Akbar The Great.* II. pp. 140, 189.

107. Articles I, IV-IX and XI of T. M's Regulations, Appendix—III.

bitikchi under each collector from 1581-82 onwards.[108] The *bitikchi*, according to the Ain, used to assist the collector in all his works and was indispensible to him.[109]

The *fotadar* used to receive collection and give receipt to the *ra'iyat*. Every year he and the collector used to divide the total collection in four parts and send three parts to the head office and they were allowed, for reasons not specified, to retain the last instalment i. e., the balance of one-fourth after the complete collection of the dues. The *fotadar* was sometimes called *tahvildar*. He used to keep separate the worn out coins deposited in the treasury.[110] The functions of the *fotadar* or *khazanadar* have been elaborately given in the Ain.[111]

The functions of the *qanungo*,[112] *chaudhuri*,[113] *kalantar*[114] have not been described in the Regulations, but they can be fairly ascertained from other sources.

The Ain states that under Akbar there was one *qanungo* for every *pargana*. He was "the refuge of the husbandman"

108. Article II of T. M's Regulations.

109. *Ain-i-bitikchi*, Ain. I. p. 288.

110. Articles VII, IX and X of T. M's Regulations.

111. *Ain-i-khazanadar*, Ain. I. p. 289 ; also Wilson. p. 160.

112. It is known from Abbas that before Sher Shah's time there was a *qanungo* in every *pargana*, from whom was ascertained the present, past and probable future state of *pargana*." Elliot. IV. p. 414. The *qanungo* used to supply all informations concerning the revenue, area statistics and rates of produce and revenue, practices and customs. The office was usually hereditary but an imperial recognition was necessary for an incumbent. Wilson. p. 260 ; A. S. M. I. p. 276 ; I. Habib. pp. 288-91.

113. *Chaudhuri* was an important official of the government and was invariably a *zamindar*. His work was largely directed towards the collection of revenue. Usually he collected the revenue from the *muqaddams* and *zamindars* and handed it over to the collector. The office was usually hereditary but imperial recognition was necessary for each incumbent. Wilson. p. 105; I. Habib. pp. 291-94.

114. The chief man of a village was termed as *kalantar*. I. Habib. p. 128.

and paid by the government. There were three classes of *qanungo*. The salary of the first was fifty rupees; of the second, thirty; of the third, twenty.[115] The functions of the *chaudhuris* and *kalantars* have not been spelt out by the Ain.

The *muqaddam* or village headman used to supply notes (perhaps, showing the revenue to be taken from the cultivators) on the basis of which revenue was to be collected and stand as surety for the loans which were to be given to the distressed cultivators.[116] The *muqaddam*, according to the Ain, used to keep copies of rent roll by means of which the *bitikchis* used to make collection on behalf of the collectors.[117]

The functions of the *patwari*, as revealed by the Regulations, were to prepare the list of cultivated lands and cultivators.[118] The Ain states that the *patwari* "is a writer employed on the part of the cultivator. He keeps an account of receipts and disbursements, and no village is without one."[119]

Both the *muqaddam* and *patwari* used to countersign the register of collection to be sent to the head office by the collector. This procedure was adopted, perhaps, to prevent the collector from making any fraud in the list of collection.[120]

The *tahsildar* used to collect taxes and act as an intermediary between the collector (*'amil*) and the cultivators.[121] The Ain also refers to the similar function of the *tahsildar*.[122]

115. Ain. I. p 300.
116. Articles III and IX of Todar Mal's Regulations.
117. Ain I. p. 288.
118. Article IX of Todar Mal's Regulations.
119. Ain. I. pp. 300, 301, Wilson. p. 460.
120. Article IX of Todar Mal's Regulations.
121. Article VII of Todar Mal's Regulations.
122. Ain. I. p. 288, also Wilson. p. 500.

The functions of the *mustaufi*,[123] *mutasaddi*[124] and *saraff* are not explicitly mentioned in the Regulations, but from the available evidence in the Ain, we learn that these terms respectively meant the auditor of account, the deputy or official of government and money-exchanger.

The *amin* was the head of the measurement party. The measurement party (*zabitan*) was composed of *amin*, *gumasta* (agents), *karkun* (clerks) and three *tanab-kishan* (measure-holders).[125]

(ii) *Procedure of Measurement*

The measurement was made when the crops were standing. The number of measuring parties varied according to the amount of land. It seems that the previous years' statistics used to serve as guide in this matter. Two hundred (200) *bighas* at the *kharif* (autumn) season "when the days are short" and two hundred and fifty (250) *bighas* at the time of *rabi* (spring) "when the days are long" were measured every day.[126] The measurement was conducted in an intelligent manner with special attention to the produce and quality of the land. It should be borne in mind that measurement, classification of land and crop-rates commuted into cash-rates were the three essential features of the *zabti* system under the Mughals. As it was necessary to know the kind of the crop and land in order

123. The officer of the department in which, under the Muhammadan government, the accounts of ex-collectors or farmers of revenue were examined. Wilson. p. 358.

124. The *mutasaddis* were officials or agents of the government. Wilson. p. 359.

125. Article XII of Todar Mal's Regulations.

126. Article XII of Todar Mal's Regulations. Here seems to occur a slip of pen because the days are actually long at the time of *kharif* season and shorter at the time of *rabi*. In the Ain Abu-l-Fazl has rightly mentioned that "in spring (*rabi*) they did not measure less than 200, nor in autumn less than 250 *bighas*." Ain. I. p. 301.

to determine the prices or cash rates, they were considered and ascertained during measurement. The fee, which was 24 *dams*, for the measurement was provided by the cultivators.[127]

We find mention of all these points in the Ain except the number of measuring parties and the time when the measurement should be made.[128]

(iii) *Unit of Assessment*

The Regulations state nothing about the method of assessment. Nevertheless they indicate the unit of assessment. Usually the individual cultivator was the basic unit of assessment but in some cases the village was treated as the unit. The Ain indicates that the cultivator was treated as the unit. "The *'amalguzar*", according to it, "should not entrust the *nasaq*[129] to the headman of the village lest it give rise to remissness and incompetence and undue authority be conferred on highhanded oppressors, but he should deal with each husbandman, present his demand, and separately and civilly receive his dues."[130]

The annual individual assessment necessitated annual measurement of each holding. However, it involved much labour and time. It is, therefore, improbable that this was universally practised. To avoid the time-consuming and laborious process of annual measurement, Article LII of the Regulations prescribed the establishment of *nasaq* when there would be no necessity of annual measurement and the cultivated area, once recorded, would be utilised for annual assessment. This indicates that the area assigned

127. Articles IV and XII of Todar Mal's Regulations.

128. Ain. I. pp 285-87, 301.

129. *Nasaq* is a method of assessment; but it is, as Dr. Irfan Habib writes, "often not treated as an independent method of assessment at all but only as a handmaid of other methods." I. Habib. p. 215. For a fuller explanation of the term see Appendix IV.

130. Ain. I. p. 286; Eng. Tr. II. p. 47.

to any assignee remained the same. The area assigned to a village and not to an individual could remain unchanged and this strongly suggests that sometimes the village was the unit of assessment. Again, Article IX instructed the *mutasaddis* and *diwanians* (officials of the revenue department) to be cautious of the rebels and evil-doers of the village who used to exploit the small *ri'aya* by transferring the revenue demand due on them to the latter. It seems that these influential persons were entrusted with the distribution of revenue demand among the cultivators of the village. It also suggests that the *jama'* of the village was assessed. In other words, the village was sometimes considered as the unit of assessment.

(iv) *Method of Collection*

The Regulations reveal that the ideal of collection was to induce the cultivators to voluntarily deposit the revenue directly to the treasury and obtain a receipt for it. This would help to remove the intermediaries. To facilitate this process the collector used to fix a period when the cultivators would submit their dues, otherwise the revenue was collected by the collector through his subordinate officials viz., *tahsildar* etc., and deposited in the treasury and the treasurer would give receipt to the cultivator. If the *fotadar* (treasurer) or *karkun* (clerk and accountant) failed to give the receipt or the cultivator failed to obtain it, the responsibility would lie with the collector. The *patwari* and the *muqaddam* had to countersign the register of collection before sending it to the headquarters.[131] The Regulations also prescribe progressive payments for three different classes of land viz., *parauti*, *chachar* and *banjar* and the proportion to be taken in different years from each of them. These do not specifically refer to the method of collection in the *polaj* land, but it seems from the Ain that here the rate followed the schedule

131. Articles VII to IX of T. M's Regulations.

of Sher Shah.[132] The details of the rates and their implications have been discussed earlier.[133] All these have found place in the Ain. It has already been stated that there are some variations between Todar Mal's Regulations and the Ain in the details of the rates of revenue to be taken from different classes of land in different years and also in the periods when they are lain fallow.[134]

(v) *Loans*

The Regulations provided for grant of loans to the distressed or destitute cultivators, who possessed neither seed nor cow, on receipt of bonds from the *muqaddams* or respectable persons so that it could be recovered every time. It seems that if a destitute cultivator wished to take loan, he had to offer the *muqaddam* or a respectable man of the village as his surety. The loan was recovered in two instalments—one at the *kharif* or autumn harvest according to the capability of the loanee and the remainder at *rabi* or spring harvest.[135] This may be compared with the instructions given to the *'amalguzar* in the Ain, that he should assist the needy husbandman with advances of money and recover them gradually.[136]

(vi) *Relief*

The Regulations also provide that if a *mauza'* experienced damage or loss due to any natural calamity, the collector would visit and send a detailed report along with the necessary petition for relief after inquiry. On receiving this report the head office would appoint an *amin* or a *mutasaddi*, perhaps, to ascertain the amount of land damaged or destroyed and on the basis of his report

132. Article III of T. M's Regulations.
133. 'D' of this Section.
134. Ain. I. pp. 299-303.
135. Article III of T. M's Regulations.
136. Ain. I. p. 285.

necessary relief was granted or sanctioned.[137] The provision of relief also finds place in the Ain.[138]

The Regulations were applicable alike to *khalsa* and *jagir* lands.[139] They indicate that the officials of the revenue department under the imperial *diwan* used to act on the basis of the inventories supplied weekly by the collectors and the daily-ledger of collection sent month by month used to be kept as records.[140] It appears from this that the central revenue department was very large and had many officials and clerks. It is evident from the Regulations that the lowest unit of revenue administration was the *mauza'*.[141] But nothing is said in the Regulations as to how it was administered.

Defects and Remedies :

The Regulations throw considerable light on the nature of the prevailing revenue administration by exposing the defects therein and suggesting remedies.

The *karoris* and *'amils* used to oppress the cultivators (*ri'aya*) by taking from the latter much in excess of the stipulated dues as sanctioned by the *dastur-ul-'amal* (schedule of rules of the government). Article I sought to bring the wicked collectors (*karoris* and *'amils* or *'amalguzars*) to book and to give relief to the aggrieved *ra'iyat*. Even the *bitikchis* attached to each collector used to torture the *ri'aya* and practically there existed a ring of oppressive and corrupt officials in every *mauza'*. Article II aimed at breaking this ring. The torture and oppression of the revenue officials (*karoris, muqaddams, chaudhuris*)

137. Article V of T. M's Regulations.

138. Ain. I. pp. 286-87.

139. Article VI of T. M's Regulations.

140. Ibid. Article IV.

141. Ibid. Articles IV to VI, VIII and IX, This is confirmed by a contemporary revenue document, *Haqiqat-i-Raqba Todar Mal Pargana Bhagalpur Sarkar Monghyr Mazaf Subah Bihar.*

sometimes became so severe that the *ri'aya* had to leave their place or keep their lands out of cultivation. In order to stop decrease in cultivation and the emigration of cultivators, the *mutasaddis* were instructed through Article IV to work "in such a way so that the land could again be cultivated and the loss be compensated." Again, to check irregularities in the maintenance of accounts of collection it was also directed through this article that the recorded inventories should be sent weekly and the daily journal of collection month by month to the head-office. The revenue officials also seemed to exploit and cheat the *ri'aya* by not giving receipts against the collection and by making fraudulent list of cultivators and cultivated lands. Articles VII and IX, therefore, asked the revenue officials to give receipt to the *ra'iyat* against the payments. Precaution against the submission of fraudulent list was also taken through Article IX. It is also revealed from Articles VI and VII that the revenue officials used to neglect their duties and did not protect the *ri'aya* from the torture and exploitation of rebels and evil-doers and also neglected to compensate the *ri'aya* for the losses incurred by them. To make the revenue officials dutiful, steps were also taken. But there is difference in opinion as to the nature of the steps between the two versions According to the MS of the *Akbarnama* (Add 27, 247, Britis Museum) one-fourth part of the total collection was allowed for the use of the *karori* and *fotadar* when there would be no dues from the *ri'aya* while according to the Persian Text one-fourth part of the salary of the collector used to be withheld till the complete collection of dues from the *ri'aya* (Article VII). Article VI asked the *sipahsalar*, *faujdar*, *jagirdar* and *karori* to chastise the rebels and protect the *ri'aya*. Moreover, it was arranged through Article IX to reward the dutiful officers. Irregularities were also practised in giving loans to the destitute *ri'aya* and in recovering the same and also in reporting about the natural calamities. Article III sought to remove these defects.

In order to remove malpractices and avoid the difficulty in measuring land at every harvest, Article III asked to establish a *nasaq* when there would be no necessity of regular measurement. As measurement of cultivated land was carried out improperly, Article IV prescribed the procedure as to how the measurement should be conducted. To check the negligence of the measurement parties and to make them dutiful, Article XII prescribed the minimum amount of land to be measured daily at every harvest-season and also made arrangement to give standard emoluments. It was also aimed to prevent the revenue officials from extorting *zabitana* or *jaribana* (measurement fee) from the *ri'aya* according to their will.

Several anomalies prevailed in currency system as different types of coin were in circulation and there was difference in the tentative value of new and old coins. Disparities also prevailed in determining the amount of deficiency in weight of the coins and the value thereof. Article X standardised the worth of different coins and fixed the ratio of deficiency in weight and thereby removed the difficulties in receiving and making payments in cash.[142]

Ideals and Principles :

Thus the Twelve Regulations not only made the revenue administration smooth and removed most of the existing defects but also revealed Todar Mal's ideals and principles regarding land revenue administration. His prime aim was to increase the state's income from the land revenue to the maximum. As a dutiful officer he tried to place Akbar's empire on a sound footing by making the economy of the state sound. As in the past, the state used to derive its main income from the land revenue, so the strength

142. For all the articles of T. M.'s Regulations see Appendix III. Details relating to the currency system are discussed in Section V of this Chapter.

and weakness of the state's economic system depended upon the merits and demerits of the land revenue system. Todar Mal realized this perfectly well and acted accordingly.

In order to augment the state's income from land revenue and to make its realisation steady and regular, it was necessary to maintain justice and discipline in its administrative machinery. The Raja rightly realized that this depended upon the condition of the cultivators and behaviour and attitude of various revenue officials, especially the collectors. It was almost the habit of the revenue officials, in medieval times, to oppress the cultivators ignoring the rules and orders of the government. In a general way it may be stated that the liberal ideas of Kautilya[143] and generous policy pursued by Sher Shah, under whom he had served, helped and inspired him to endeavour to understand the working and defects of the existing land-revenue system. Sher Shah's ideals had been amply reflected in his address to the *chaudhuris* and headmen : "I know well that the cultivation depends on the humble peasants, for if they be ill off, they will produce nothing, but if prosperous, they will produce much. I know the oppressions and exactions of which you have been guilty towards the cultivators....." Again, "the cultivators are the source of prosperity. I have encouraged them and sent them away, and shall always watch over their condition, that no man may oppress and injure them ; for if a ruler cannot protect humble peasantry from the lawless, it is tyranny to exact revenue from them."[144]

Like Sher Shah Todar Mal also tried, through various rules, to relieve the cultivators of oppression and torture and bring the wicked and oppressive officials to book. He also instructed the officials (*sipahsalar*, *faujdar*,

143 *Arthasastra.* pp. 46, 48.
144. Elliot. IV. pp. 313-14.

jagirdar, karori) to protect the cultivators from the torture and extortion of the rebels and evil-doers. Moreover, the revenue officials were directed to behave with the cultivators sympathetically and thus create such an atmosphere in which the latter would come, of their own accord, and deposit the revenue [145]

Although the Raja was sympathetic and generous to the cultivators, he was very particular in collecting maximum revenue. He was not to tolerate any negligence on the part of either the revenue officials or the cultivators. He arranged to punish the recalcitrant and trouble-making cultivators and also to reward the well-behaved officials and cultivators.[146] In this regard also he was following Sher Shah : "It is right for a ruler to show leniency to the cultivators at the period of measurement, and to have a regard to the actual produce ; but when the time of payment comes he should show no leniency, but collect the revenue with all strictness. If he perceives the cultivators are evading payment, he should so chastise them as to be an example to others not to act in the same way."[147]

As the state used to take a certain share of the produce as the revenue, the increase of production was another means to augment the state's income. Todar Mal applied various means to increase the production. First of all, in order to enthuse the cultivators to cultivate more and more lands he prescribed that only a nominal amount of the yield per *bigha* should be taken as revenue from the *banjar* land. Secondly, to increase the productivity of three classes of land of comparatively inferior quality, he prescribed a gradual progressive assessment. Further he instructed to help the destitute cultivators with loans so that they could cultivate their lands and to give relief to the cultivators in times of distress and calamity. Moreover, by leaving a portion of the yield per *bigha*

145. Articles I, II, VI and VIII of T. M's Regulations.
146. Articles III, IV, VI and XI of T. M's Regulations.
147. Elliot. IV. pp. 313-14.

unassessed when there seemed to be a good harvest, the Raja allowed the cultivators to enjoy, at least, some fruits of the good production.[148]

In conclusion it can be said that his policy was based on the principle that the state's wealth and prosperity depended upon the welfare and prosperity of cultivation and of cultivators.

Importance

The Twelve Regulations of Todar Mal set a standard for future administrators to follow. Several subsequent regulations in the empire were promulgated or formulated on this model. Almost all these regulations were incorporated in the Ain compiled in 1597-98 (42nd regnal year).[149] These were looked upon as a model even a century later by Aurangzeb. In his *farman* to Rasikdas Karori, Aurangzeb ordered him to ascertain "what was the system of revenue collection in the reign of Akbar under the *diwani* of Todar Mal."[150] He was also to inquire whether the amount of *sair* cess remained the same as under the Regulations or was increased at His Majesty's (Aurangzeb's) accession and also to ascertain the amount of cultivated *mauzas* and desolate ones and the causes of desolation. Articles II, IV, VI, VIII, IX and XII of this *farman* were promulgated on the line of Todar Mal's Regulations. The aim, declared in the preamble of this *farman*, was to augment cultivation and the welfare of the cultivators and the people at large.[151]

The importance of Todar Mal's Regulations lies in the fact that their application under a strict and dutiful imperial *wazir* like the Raja reduced oppression and extortion of the revenue officials to a great extent and

148. Articles III, IV and V of T. M's Regulations,
149. Ain. I. pp. 285-94, 297-303.
150. Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughal Administration* (4th ed.) p. 192.
151. Ibid. p. 190.

gave relief and security to the cultivators. It is evident from Articles II, IV and V of Mir Fath Ullah Shirazi's recommendation made in the 30th regnal year/1585-86 of Akbar that whatever oppression and torture continued was due to the non-adherence to some of the Twelve Regulations. The Mir suggested the remedies almost on the line of Articles I and IX of Todar Mal's Regulations.[152]

Further, the significance of the Raja's Regulations becomes clearer when we find that oppression and tyranny of the officials increased almost continually after the Raja's death. In consequence cultivation decreased and there was large scale emigration of the cultivators.

S. J. Xavier states about Agra in September, 1609, that "the tyranny of the Mogores" (Mughals) has ruined it[153] and about Gujarat in December, 1615 that its conditions had deteriorated much since the country fell into the hands of the Mughals as the lands were much spoiled due to their oppressions.[154]

During Jahangir's reign, according to Pelsaert, the peasants were so severely oppressed that the lands lay unsown and grew into wilderness.[155]

Geleynsen, another foreign observer, writes about Ahmadabad and its neighbourhood in 1629 that the annual revenue was formerly more than the present, "but the peasants, from whom all of it must come, are more oppressed than formerly, frequently abscond and cannot pay the tithe so well as in former times ; consequently much land is left unsown and the revenue has decreased and cannot now yield as much as formerly".[156] Further, he writes that "there is little difference between them and the serfs such are found in Poland·· ...".[157]

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152. A. N. III pp. 457-58.
153. J. A. S. B. 1927. p. 121.
154. Ibid. p. 125.
155. Pelsaert. p. 47.
156. J. I. H. IV. pp. 78-79.
157. Ibid. p. 79

It is known from Sadiq Khan's account that during Shah Jahan's reign vast lands became completely depopulated owing to the natural calamities, the rebellious *zamindars* and the cruelty of the officials and in spite of the efforts of the emperor and able ministers the land appeared more desolate than in the time of Jahangir.[158]

Signs of official tyranny during the reign of Aurangzeb are found in his *farman* to Rasikdas Karori and Muhammad Hashim.[159] It may also be gleaned from Bernier who states that "considerable portion of good land remains untilled from the want of labourers" many of whom "perish in consequence of the bad treatment they receive from the Governors" or are left with no choice but to "abandon the country."[160]

One of the reasons of this continuous rise of official tyranny and oppression seems to be the non-observance of Todar Mal's Regulations as it is evident from Aurangzeb's *farman* to Rasikdas Karori that the Regulations had, by that time, become obsolete. But Aurangzeb felt the importance and necessity of Todar Mal's system or Regulations. That is why he ordered to "find out the system of revenue collection in the reign of Akbar under the *diwani* administration of Todar Mal."[161]

F. Involvement with the Karori System

Akbar introduced several administrative measures including those connected with the land revenue system in January, 1575. One of the measures was the appointment of the officers, called *karori*, over an extent

158. Sadiq Khan, *Shahjahan-nama* (Or. 174). f. 10a-b, as quoted by Dr. Irfan Habib. I. Habib. p. 324.

159. Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughal Administration* (4th ed.). pp. 176-98,

160. Bernier. pp. 205, 226-27.

161. Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughal Administration* (4th ed.). p. 192.

of territory yielding a revenue of one *karore dam* or *tanka* per annum. In all 182 *karoris* were appointed. The purpose of this measure was to extend cultivation and improve the revenue administration and the condition of ri'aya.[162] The *Ma'asir* states that Todar Mal had introduced it.[163] But Abu-l-Fazl states that the idea was first initiated by I'timad Khan when the latter was put in charge of the crown lands in 1562-63.[164] So in the presence of positive contemporary evidence in favour of I'timad Khan we are unable to accept the *Ma'asir's* version.

Why was not this step put into effect on such a large scale during the intervening 13 years? It should be borne in mind that at the time when in 1562-63 I'timad Khan was made *diwan-i-khalsa,* the crown lands comprised a small portion of the empire. To install directly paid government officials over larger portions of the empire which were under the *jagirdars* was to convert those territories into crown lands. So it involved an important policy decision. It was difficult to take such a radical step, which was sure to generate dissatisfaction and confusion, in the earlier stage of the reign. Akbar began to give full attention to the administration from 1564. Since then his attention was mostly engaged in the suppression of rebellions, extension of empire and consolidation of the administration. Even in November, 1573, when in consultation with Todar Mal he decided to put into effect this step along with some others, he had to postpone the proposed reforms due to the opposition of Muzaffar Khan Turbati, then *vakil* and Mun'im Khan, a former *vakil* and then governor of Jaunpur.[165] When in January, 1575, the emperor adopted this step, he, as

162. A. N. III. p. 117 ; T. A. II. pp. 300, 301 , M. T II. pp. 189-90 ; M. A. Q. pp. 197-98.

163. M. U. II p. 128.

164. Ain. I. pp 9, 10 ; Eng. Tr p. 13.

165. A. N. III. p. 69.

a realist, converted those territories into crown lands almost all of which had experienced direct rule under Sher Shah.[166]

Badayuni states that Todar Mal severely punished and inflicted inhuman tortures upon the *karoris* whose greed and oppression caused anarchy and dislocation to the cultivation and immense suffering to the cultivators. The author states: "A great portion of the country was laid waste through the rapacity of the *karoris*, the wives and children of the *raiyats* were sold and scattered abroad and everything was thrown into confusion. But the *karoris* were brought to account by Raja Todar Mal and many good men died from the severed beatings which were administered and from the tortures of the rack and pincers."[167]

The first sentence of the above quoted account of Badayuni is corroborated by other contemporary evidence. It is known from Articles I and II of Todar Mal's Twelve Regulations that the *karoris* and their *bitikchis* used to fleece the cultivators by taking much in excess of the dues sanctioned by the schedule of rules of the government. It is evident from Article III of the same that at least a portion of cultivated land had been laid waste. And according to Article IV of the Regulations some of the cultivators had to leave their place and let their land uncultivated due to the oppression and torture of the revenue officials especially the *karoris*, *chaudhuris* and *muqaddams*.[168] It seems that as the torture and oppression of the *karoris* went against the spirit of the *karori*-experiment, their extent of jurisdiction was reduced to the *pargana*.[169] The only part of Badayuni's criticism, relating to sale of wives and children of the peasants, is not corroborated by Abu-l-Fazl ; but even this may not

166. A. N. III. p. 117.
167. M. T. II. p. 189 ; Eng. Tr. p. 192.
168. Add. 27, 247. f. 332a.
169. Vide 'E' of this Section.

appear surprising in the background of the widespread oppression perpetrated by the *karoris*. Thus the *karori* experiment was discarded although the term was continued to be used.•

It is, however, more difficult to accept the second sentence of the quotation where Todar Mal was made responsible for oppression and torture of the *karoris*, in the absence of any corroborative contemporary evidence. Why has Abu-l-Fazl, who never failed to criticize Todar Mal's shortcomings, silently passed over such glaring oppression of the Raja ? Nizamu-d-din and 'Arif Qandhari are also silent on this point. Todar Mal's oppression, as alleged by Badayuni, cannot also be substantiated on a consideration of the following points.

In 1585 Todar Mal, then acting as *de facto vakil*, was ordered, according to Abu-l-Fazl, to conduct the administrative and financial affairs of the empire in consultation with Fath Ullah Shirazi who was made *amin-ul-mulk* and asked to finally dispose of the problems that had been pending since the *vakilship* of Muzaffar Khan Turbati (October, 1577 to March, 1579) and submit a report thereof. The Mir formulated a comprehensive report consisting of 20 articles concerning mainly the relation between the collectors and the audit department attached to the revenue ministry.[170]

On the basis of this account of Abu-l-Fazl, Moreland, in spite of his admission that there is exaggeration in detail in Badayuni's above quoted statement, states that the latter's account is essentially true. Todar Mal, according to Moreland, was practically superseded and thus degraded for his oppression of the collectors (*karoris*). He writes that Todar Mal "was for a time practically superseded, being directed to work 'in consultation with' Fath Ullah Shirazi, a foreigner whom 'Akbar had invited to his court from Bijapur and who was given the temporary appointment of 'Imperial Commissioner' (*amin-ul-mulk*)

170. A. N. III. pp. 457-59.

with orders to wind up old cases which had been pending in the ministry from the time of Muzaffar Khan, that is to say, since about 23rd year."[171]

But Fath Ullah Shirazi, according to Abu-l-Fazl, was required to conclude the cases that had been pending since the time when Muzaffar Khan was the *vakil*. Muzaffar Khan Turbati served as the *vakil* from October, 1577, to March, 1579.[172] But it should be borne in mind that during this time Shah Mansur was practically working as *wazir*, as Todar Mal, the *mashraf-i-diwan*, had been frequently sent to different regions of the empire for military operations. It can, therefore, be said that the cases i.e., the *karoris'* complaints against the torture and oppression of the audit department attached to revenue ministry were made against Shah Mansur, the *wazir*, instead of Todar Mal, who, according to Abu-l-Fazl, could not effectively work as finance minister before 1582.[173] As the Mir was ordered to make aright the problems created by the finance ministry under Shah Mansur, there arises no question of superseding and suppressing the Raja. In fact, Todar Mal was associated with Fath Ullah Shirazi. How can a culprit be associated with the investigating officer ?

Again, it is evident from the Mir's report that the regulations, which were detrimental to the working and interests of the revenue administration including those of collectors (*'amils*) in general and not specifically of the *karoris* only, were reformed, while Todar Mal, according to Badayuni, punished the *karoris* only.[174] Further, although Todar Mal, who had been serving as *de facto vakil* since 1582, was instructed to conduct the financial and administrative affairs according to the Mir's counsels, yet it does not necessarily mean that the Raja was superseded.

171. A. S. M. I. pp. 103-108.
172. A. N. III. pp. 215-16 ; M. A. Q. pp, 238, 246.
173. A. N. III. pp. 381-82.
174. A. N. III. pp. 457-59.

Akbar had great respect for Fath Ullah Shirazi and used to consider him as his "*vakil*, philosopher, physician and astronomer."[175] So when the emperor decided to seek his service, it was natural on his part to put such an important and wise man in the prime position and ask the Raja, who was not yet formally appointed *vakil*, to be his chief assistant and to work in consultation with him. The emperor issued an almost identical order at the time of the appointment of Muzaffar Khan Turbati in 1577. He asked Todar Mal and Shah Mansur to work in consultation with Muzaffar Khan.[176] At that time also Todar Mal was enjoying the position of *mashraf-i-diwan* and *de facto vakil* although the administration was practically conducted by Shah Mansur. Moreover, it is evident from Nizamu-d-din and Badayuni that the Raja continued to serve the Mughal emperor as the *vakil-us-sultanat* and *mashraf-i-diwan* up to the end of his life.[177]

III. Settlement in Bengal

It is traditionally believed and universally recognised that the land revenue system that was in vogue in Bengal under Mughal rule was introduced by Raja Todar Mal during Akbar's reign. The tradition finds repeated mention in the entire body of revenue literature of 18th century Bengal. The *Risala-i-Zira'at*,[178] a work written in 1750, states that the *jama'-i-tumari* was instituted by Todar Mal in the time of Akbar. This was supported by a letter dated 20th June, 1767 of Mr. Vansittart, the Resident at Midnapur, and the resolution of the Board of Revenue adopted on 22nd February, 1774.[179] Grant and Shore also hold the same view. Grant

175. A. N. III. p. 558 ; Eng. Tr. p. 848.
176. Ibid. pp. 215-16.
177. T. A. II. p. 409 ; M. T. II. p. 371.
178. *Risala-i-Zira'at*. f. 12b ; I. Habib. p. 178n45.
179. *Midnapur Records*. I. (1763-67). p. 157 ; R. B. Ramsbotham.

states that 'Assul Toomar Jumma of Bengal' was settled on behalf of the emperor, Akbar, in the year 1582.[180] Shore writes: "The settlement of Bengal by Toorenmul was completed about the year 1582.....".[181] But contemporary authorities neither support the tradition nor refer to the date of its introduction.

As regards the date of the settlement, Grant and Shore, as it has already been stated, are of the opinion that Bengal's land revenue settlement was made in 1582, when Todar Mal was appointed the *ashraf-i-diwan* and *de facto vakil* of the empire. But it is difficult to accept this view. Todar Mal was in Bengal for two brief periods. He first came to the province in September, 1574, and left at the end of August or in the beginning of September, 1575.[183] Of these more than 8 months were spent in military operations. This indicates that he had only a little more than 3 months to engage himself in works other than military campaigns. Next he came to Bengal in December, 1575, and left the province a few weeks after the battle of Rajmahal on 12th July, 1576.[188] Throughout this period he remained busy in military operations. Another point to be noticed is that in May, 1580, Todar Mal came to Monghyr (Bihar) to chastise the rebellion of the Mughal officers of Bihar and Bengal. The Raja went back to the court in September, 1581.[184] During this period of sixteen months the Raja was besieged by the rebels inside the fort of Monghyr for several months.

Studies in the Land Revenue History of Bengal. p. 145, Dr. Irfan Habib writes that a report on the revenue system of the pro-British regime by the *rai rayan* and the *qanungos* at the instance of Governor General and Council (January 25, 1775), holds the same view. I. Habib. p. 178n45.

180. *The Fifth Report.* II. pp. 176, 178
181. Ibid. p. 741.
182. Vide Sections I and II, Chapter V.
183. Vide Section III, Chapter V.
184 Vide Chapter VII.

Ultimately he was able to break off the siege and suppress the rebellion to a great extent. But the entire period was spent by him in military operations within the borders of Bihar. The time 1580-81 is nearest to 1582. Perhaps either his activities against the rebels of Bihar and Bengal in 1580-81 or his appointment as the chief *diwan* (*ashraf-i-diwan*) and *de facto vakil* in 1582 has led Grant and Shore to mention that the Raja made the settlement of Bengal in 1582. It is thus obvious that the period comprising a little more than 3 months in 1575, when he got the opportunity to perform works other than military campaigns, was probably the time when Todar Mal made the settlement of Bengal.

In order to ascertain the nature of Todar Mal's settlement of land revenue in Bengal, it is necessary to have a fair idea of the various features of the revenue administration prevailing before the Mughal conquest of the province. It is known from Ibn Batuta that the cultivators of Habang, situated on the bank of the river Meghna and some ten miles south of Habiganj, used to pay half of the produce to the government.[185] This perhaps implies that there prevailed direct relations between the government and the cultivators during the early Muslim rule in some parts of the province. It is said in one of the folk songs, *Gopichandrer Gan*, which seems to have been composed during early Muslim rule, that the cultivators used to pay tax at the rate of one and a half pice per plough.[186] Such low rate of tax seems to us very striking, still we cannot overlook the grain of truth in it. It furnishes us with the method of assessment and the relation between the state and the cultivators. The unit of assessment was the individual cultivator and the revenue was paid in cash.

185. *Rehla*. Eng. Tr. by Mahdi Husain. p. 241. Habiganj was the headquarters of the sub-division of the same name in Sylhet district, Bengal, situated in 24° 23' N and 91° 26' E. I. G. XIII. p. 3.

186. *Gopichandrer Gan*. p. I,

Apart from this, we find the existence of intermediaries—revenue-farmer, *zamindar* and *taluqdar*. Krisnadas Kaviraj's *Sree Chaitanya Charitamrita*, written in second half of the 16th century, mentions the existence of revenue farming during the reign of Husain Shah (1494-1519). Hiranyadas Majumdar, according to it, obtained the *muqta'* of Saptagram (Satgaon) in exchange of 12 *lakhs* of rupees and his gross profit was 8 *lakhs* of rupees and a Muslim noble, the *chaudhuri* of the place, became jealous of it.[187]

The *Badshahnama* of 'Abdul Hamid Lahori tells us that before the Mughal annexation of Hooghly the Portuguese had obtained *ijara* of some portions of it. They were afterwards driven from the place under the order of Shah Jahan.[188] The Portuguese of Chatgaon (Chittagong) also obtained *ijara* from Mahmud III (1533-38).[189]

Besides, we find the existence of *zamindars* also. Contemporary Vaisnava literature refers to a large number of *zamindars* holding sway in different parts of Bengal before the Mughal annexation. Some of them were Buddhimanta Rai, the *zamindar* of Navadvip, Ram Chandra Khan of Benapol in Jessore, Chand Rai of Rajmahal and Divya Singh of Laur in Sylhet.[190] It is known from a cannon inscription dated 949 H/1542, now in the Dacca Museum, that the cannon was a present of Fazl Ghazi, the *zamindar* of Bhawal, to Sher Shah.[191] The *Akbarnama* mentions several *zamindars* viz., 'Isa Khan of Sonargaon, Chand Rai and Kedar Rai of Sripur in Vikrampur, Ibrahim, Moral and Karimdad Musazi, the Afghan *zamindars* in the neighbourhood of Bhawal

187. *Sree Chaitanya Charitamrita*, edited by Radhagovinda Nath *Antyaleela*. pp. 132, 269-70.

188. *Badshahnama*. I. Pt. I. pp. 434, 437 A. S. M. I. p. 190.

189. Campos. pp. 39, 45.

190. *Sahitya Parisad Patrika*. XXXI. Pt. III. pp. 140-41.

191. M. A. Rahman, *History of the Afghans in India*. p. 220.

who fought against the establishment of Mughal authority in Bengal.[192]

Moreover, we find the existence of *taluqdar* in Bengal before the Mughal conquest in 1575. Mukundaram, the author of *Kavikankan Chandi*, states that the torture and oppression of the revenue official, Mahmud Sharif, forced him to leave his native village, Damunya, where he had been living and tilling land for six generations and which was in the *taluqa* of Gopinath Niyogi, a resident of the city of Selimabad, 12 miles south-east of Burdwan.[193]

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192. A. N. III. pp. 259, 376-77, 647-49.

193. *Kavikankan Chandi*. pp. 4, 5. Mukundaram states that he wrote the book on the order of his patron Raja Raghunath Rai, the *zamindar* of Adra, the Brahmanbhumi, in Midnapur district. *Kavikankan Chandi*. p. 5. Raghunath Rai, according to the genealogical table supplied by his descendants, ruled his *zamindari* from 1495 to 1525 *Saka*/1573-74 to 1603-1604. *Bangalabhasa O Bangala Sahitya Bisayak Prastava* (3rd ed.) p. 101. Again, Mukundaram mentions Raja Man Singh as the ruler of Bengal and Orissa. *Kavikankan Chandi*. p. 4. Man Singh was the governor of the province of Bengal and Orissa from 1595 to 1604. A. N III. pp. 650, 835. M. U. II. pp. 164-69. This leads us to conclude that Mukundaram wrote his *Kavikankan Chandi* after the Mughal conquest of Bengal and during Akbar's reign. All scholars, who have dealt with Mukundaram, hold the same view. They also agree that Mukundaram left his ancestral land before the Mughal conquest of Bengal although they differ as to the exact date of his leaving his native village. They argue that after leaving his native village Mukundaram took refuge at Adra, the Brahmanbhumi, and at that time Bankura Rai, the father of Raghunath Rai was the *zamindar*. Dr. Sukumar Sen, *Bangala Sahityer Itihasa* I. pt. I (4th ed.) pp. 522-23; Dr. Bijan Behari Bhattacharya, *Chandimangal* (1966). pp. 1-10. This indicates that Mukundaram left his native village before 1495 *Saka*/1573-74 i. e., before the Mughal conquest of Bengal. Contemporary Persian sources also confirm this view. The *Akbarnama* tells us that when in 1574 during his campaign against the Afghans in Bengal Raja Todar Mal came to Burdwan, news came that Mahmud, son of Sikandar Khan, Muhammad and others were making disturbances at Selimpur. The Raja sent an army which successfully crushed the mischief-makers. Muhammad Khan died in the engagement and Mahmud fled away. (A. N. III. pp. 119-20). Ilahdad Faiz Sarhindi, in his

This clearly indicates that before the Mughal conquest there existed *taluqdars* and *taluqdari* system in Bengal.

The following features are revealed from the above account.

(a) Relation between the Government and the Peasant :

As regards the relations, it is to be noted that while at some places the relation was direct i. e., the assessee was the individual cultivator, at other places it was indirect, there being the intermediaries viz., revenue-farmers, *zamindars* and *taluqdars*.

(b) Method of Assessment :

We find that in case of direct relation the revenue demand was assessed on the basis of the amount to be charged per plough used for tilling the land. Apart from this, there seems to exist other modes of assessment, though contemporary authors do not specifically mention

Akbarnama, gives almost an identical account. (I. F S. f. 107 Mukundaram mentions the oppressive revenue official of Selimabad as Mahmud Sharif. Again, it has already been stated that Selimabad is about 12 miles south east of Burdwan i. e., near Burdwan, while Todar Mal, according to Abu-l-Fazl, despatched a contingent from Burdwan to Selimpur against Mahmud and others. After successfully suppressing the troublesome elements the Raja's contingent returned. It may, therefore, be reasonably held that Mahmud Sharif of Mukundaram and Mahmud of Abu-l-Fazl and Ilahdad are one and the same person and that Selimabad and Selimpur are indentical places. Mahmud has been mentioned by Abu-l-Fazl as the son of Sikandar Khan and at another place the author has mentioned him as the on of Sikandar Afghan. (A. N. III. pp. 16, 105). This leads us to hold that Mahmud was an Afghan noble. As Mahmud fled away from Selimpur or Selimabad in 1574, his torture and oppression occurred before that time i. e, before the Mughal conquest of Bengal in 1575. So whatever Mukundaram depicts about the social and economic conditions that prevailed in Bengal before leaving his ancestral land related to pre-Mughal Bengal.

them. But it seems from the account of Ibn Batuta and Wang-ta-Yuan, another contemporary foreign traveller, that there existed either crop-division or appraisement in medieval Bengal.[194] Mukundaram, of course, mêntions measurement, but it is not clearly stated that it was used for the purpose of assessment, though this seems likely. He writes that the revenue official, who seems to be entrusted with the revenue administration of a number of villages, resorted to it in order to exploit the people. The officer made 15 *katta* (instead of 20) a *bigha* and began to measure land diagonally with rope-measure. He levied taxes on waste-land and took bribes without doing any service and also arrested the *taluqdar* of the place without any tangible reason. In consequence of these, the author had to leave his ancestral land.[195]

(c) Government Demand :

In areas where the cultivators had direct relation with the government, the rate of demand was, according to Ibn Batuta, one-half of the produce.[196] But Wang-ta-Yuan, following a different route, states that in Bengal the state's demand was two-tenths or one-fifth of the total produce.[197] But, as pointed out earlier, the rate per plough, as given by the author of *Gopichandrer Gan*, seems to be low indeed. In areas where the relation was indirect, the *zamindars* and the revenue-farmers used to pay a fixed amount in cash. It is thus evident that the rate of state's demand varied from place to place and, perhaps, according to the facilities of cultivation enjoyed by the cultivators.

194. *T'oung Pao.* (1915). p. 435 ; *Visva Bharati Annals* (1945). I, pp. 98, 99;

195. *Kavikankan Chandi.* pp. 4, 5.

196. Rehla. Eng. Tr. p. 241.

197. *Visva Bharati Annals* (1945). I. p. 99.

(d) Method of Payment :

Payment used to be made both in cash and kind.

In pre-Mughal Bengal we also find the existence of rent-free lands. These used to be granted to religious persons and educational and religious institutions.[198]

Let us now determine the various features of the settlement as made by Todar Mal in Bengal.

(i) Relation between the Government and the Peasant :

The Ain states that the cultivators used to pay the revenue directly and themselves used to bring the rupees and *muhrs* to the appointed place.[199] In other words the state's relation with the cultivator was direct and the revenue was levied upon the individual cultivator. This is in line with the principle of the Twelve Regulations which reflect that usually the unit of assessment was the individual cultivator.[200] It is also evident from Mukundaram, a contemporary Bengali author, that the *jama'* was levied upon the individual peasant. In one of the passages of his *Kavikankan Chandi* Kalketu, who has just established a new kingdom, tells Bulan Mandal: "settle at my city, cultivate as much land as you wish and pay tax after three years.....".[201] This view is also supported by *Baharistan-i-Ghaybi*, a work written during Jahangir's reign by Mirza Nathan, an official who served in Bengal for 16 years (1608-24). It states: "Khwaja Muhammad Tahir, who was sent to Jessore to assess its revenue, returned to Islam Khan with the register of revenue of that territory, which was prepared to the satisfaction of the *ryots* and to the advantage of the

198. T. A. III. p. 270, Riyaz. p. 135; S. Ahmad, *Inscriptions of Bengal*. IV. pp. 190-91, 225-26; Dani, *Bibliography of the Muslim Inscriptions of Bengal*. p. 72.

199. Ain. I. p. 389.

200. Articles I. III, IV of T. M's Regulations, Appendix III.

201. *Kavikankan Chandi*. p. 85.

imperial treasury. It was presented to Islam Khan (the governor of the province) with the signatures of the *chaudhuris* and *qanungos*; it was then handed over to the accountants of Mu'taqid Khan in order to enforce these regulations on the *ryots* and the *jagirdars*....."[202] There are several other instances in this regard in *Baharistan-i-Ghaybi*.[203]

The above mentioned instances would point towards the existence of the direct relation between the state and the cultivator. But it has to be admitted that such a relationship did not prevail throughout the entire province of Bengal. We find reference to several intermediaries viz., the *zamindars*, revenue-farmers and *taluqdars* in contemporary accounts. It is evident from them that there were a good number of *zamindars* under the Afghan rulers of Bengal when the Mughals conquered the province. Although some of them fought against the establishment of Mughal authority, there were others who accepted the Mughal suzerainty and continued to rule their territory as vassal chiefs or *zamindars*. The *Akbarnama* mentions Vir Hamir, the landholder of Vishnupur and Tila Ghazi, the landholder in the neighbourhood of Bhawal[204] and Mukundaram speaks of the *zamindars* of Brahmanbhumi in Midnapur district,

202. *Baharistan-i-Ghaybi*. Eng. Tr. I. pp. 156-57.

203. *Baharistan-i-Ghaybi*. I. pp. 288-89; II. pp. 741-42. Shore states that in Bengal the settlement of revenue was with the *zamindars*. Shore's Minute in *The Fifth Report*. Ed. by Firminger (1917). II. p. 740. This has been followed by Dr. Irfan Habib who states that in Bengal the authorities levied the revenue-demand not upon the peasants but upon the *zamindars*. I. Habib. p. 229 also pp. 175-77. It is true that there existed a number of powerful and wealthy *zamindars* who seemed to pay a fixed amount as revenue. We have referred to a number of them in the next page. But it is clear from the above discussion that in some places revenue-demand was levied upon the peasants. Besides, we find the existence of revenue-farmers and independent *taluqdars*. Shore and Dr. Habib are partially right.

204. A. N. III. pp. 260, 580.

who were his patrons and in whose territory he took refuge after fleeing from his native village Damunya in Burdwan.[205] It is also known that Pratapaditya, the *zamindar* of Jessore and the son of Srihari Vikramaditya, Daud's *wazir*, also accepted Mughal suzerainty and sent *peshkash* to Islam Khan and himself paid tribute to the latter.[206] We also find mention of *zamindars* in the Ain.[207] *Baharistan-i-Ghaybi* also mentions several *zamindars* who were imperial partisans.[208]

Besides the *zamindars*, the Ain speaks of independent *taluqdars* as well. It also mentions some of the *mahals* of *sarkar* Udambar or Tanda, Khalifatabad and Ghoraghat as *taluqa* Barbhakar, *taluqa* Mahes Mandal, *taluqa* Sripat Kaviraj, *taluqa* Husain, *taluqa* Balanath etc.[209] This indicates that the above mentioned *mahals* obtained their name from their *taluqdars*.

It is known from the already stated account of *Badshahnama* that the Portuguese inhabitants of Hooghly, who had obtained the *ijara* of portions of it, continued to enjoy the same up to the time of Shah Jahan when they were dispossessed of this position.[210] *Baharistan-i-Ghaybi* also mentions revenue farming. It states that after the dimissal of Mir Safi, the *diwan* and *bakhshi* of the territory of Kamrup, "one portion of ' *parganas* was entrusted to the *karoris* and another portion to the *mustajirs* (lessees or revenue-farmers)".[211]

It is thus clear from the above discussion that the assessee in the land revenue settlement of Bengal as made by Todar Mal was not only the individual cultivator but also the *zamindar*, *taluqdar* and revenue-farmer.

205. *Kavikankan Chandi*. pp. 4, 5.
206. *Baharistan-i-Ghaybi*. Eng. Tr. I. pp. 14, 27 ; B. P. P. No. 35. p. 39.
207. Ain. II. Eng. Tr. p. 144.
208. *Baharistan-i-Ghaybi*. pp. 15, 16, 123.
209. Ain. II. Eng. Tr. pp. 142, 146, 148, 154, 156.
210. *Badshahnama*. I. pt. I. pp. 434, 437 , A. S. M. I. p. 190.
211. *Baharistan-i-Ghaybi*. I. pp. 288-89.

All these were in existence in Bengal before the Mughal annexation. It may also be gathered from Mukundaram that there also existed rent-free lands in Bengal during Akbar's reign.[213]

(ii) The Rate of State's Demand :

As no contemporary or near contemporary author furnishes us with any information, we are in the dark as to the rate of state's demand from the assessee.

(iii) Payment :

It is evident from the Ain that the payment was made in cash. Payment in cash was in practice from the very beginning of Akbar's reign[213] and this was in vogue in Bengal since the days of the Husainshahi kings. This was also incorporated in the Twelve Regulations.[214]

The Ain further states that the payment used to be made in instalments. This is corroborated by Mukundaram's *Kavikankan Chandi*. In one of its passages Bulan Mandal, one of the inhabitants of the recently devastated territory of Kalinga, states that the king would demand 1/3rd of the revenue in the first month and (in case of failure) would arrest and torture.[215] It indicates that there prevailed the system of payment in instalments. But the number of instalments, as given by Mukundaram, is three and that given by the Ain is eight. Payment in eight instalments, as prescribed by Todar Mal, made it a very easy matter for the cultivators.

(iv) Method of Assessment :

Regarding the method of assessing the *jama'* or revenue demand of the province Abu-l-Fazl categorically

212. *Kavikankan Chandi*. p. 85.

213. Ain. I. pp. 347, 389.

214. *Chaitanya Charitamrita. Antyaleela*. pp. 132, 269-70 ; A. N. III. pp. 382-83.

215. *Kavikankan Chandi*. p. 84.

states that "crop-division was not practised."[216] The absence of the system of crop-division is indirectly supported by the contemporary Bengali literature which does not refer to it at all.

Further, the author states that "they (the peasants) do not insist upon measurement".[217] Thus it also appears that measurement for the purpose of assessment was almost non-existent. We find no reference to area-statistics in the rent-roll of Bengal as given in the accounts of Twelve Provinces in the Ain. The Ain's account is indirectly supported by contemporary and later sources as none of them mentions the existence of measurement for the purpose of assessment during Akbar's reign.

Baharistan-i-Ghaybi, written during the time of Jahangir, of course, refers to measurement. But even this account does not show that it was regularly practised. Measurement was resorted only to check the assessment of the two *sarkars*—Tajpur and Purnea—which were given as *jagir* to an official, who objected to the existing assessment of these *sarkars*.[218]

What, then, was the system actually followed in Bengal? Abu-l-Fazl speaks of the continuance of pre-existing and the traditional *nasaq*[219] on which the revenue demand (of Bengal) was based. The nature of the method of assessment applied in Bengal thus depends upon the interpretation of the term *nasaq*. Abu-l-Fazl has used it at several places but without explaining it anywhere. But in the passage quoted above, Abu-l-Fazl has definitely stated that "crop division was not customary. They do not insist upon measurement. The revenue demand is

216. Ain. I. p. 389.

217. Ibid.

218. *Baharistan-i-Ghaybi*. Eng. Tr. I. pp. 94, 95.

219. Scholars interpreted differently the term *nasaq* and the controversy has been going on for about 100 years. For a discussion of it see Appendix IV.

based upon *nasaq*."[220] Hence *nasaq* would mean a method other than these two.

A passage of Mukundaram's *Kavikankan Chandi* throws light on the system prevailing in Bengal. In this passage addressing Bulan Mandal, Kalketu, who has just established a new kingdom, states: "Settle in my city and cultivate as much land as you want; pay tax after three years (at the rate of) one rupee per plough; don't be afraid of any one and hold the *patta* signed by me".[221] Thus, according to Mukundaram, the revenue demand was assessed on the basis of the rate per plough to be charged without any reference to the amount of land cultivated or of produce or of revenue received.

It is thus clear that *nasaq* in Bengal meant a method of assessment in which an amount per plough irrespective of area and produce was levied upon the cultivators. This testifies to the similarity of the *nasaqi* system that prevailed in Berar under Mughal rule. Abu-l-Fazl states that Berar is *nasaqi* from ancient times.[222] In Berar the revenue-demand, according to Sadiq Khan, was assessed on the basis of the rate to be charged per plough, irrespective of area or produce.[223] Further, Abu-l-Fazl writes that Gujarat was mostly *nasaqi* and measurement was rarely practised.[224] In pre-Mughal Gujarat, we also find the existence of the mode of assessing revenue-demand on the basis of the number of ploughs used for tilling. One of the inscriptions of Ahmad Shah of Gujarat, dated 855H/ 1452 mentions the granting of six ploughs of rent-free land to an official named Malik Shaban.[225] It is, therefore,

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220. Ain. I. p. 389.

221. *Kavikankan Chandi*. p. 84.

222. Ain. I. p. 478.

223. Sadiq Khan f. 185a, as quoted by Dr. Irfan Habib. I. Habib. pp. 217-18.

224. Ain. I. p. 485,

225. *Muslim Monuments of Ahmadabad Through Their Inscriptions* by M. A. Chaghtai, *Bulletin of the Deccan College Institute* (1941-42) III. p. 29.

reasonable to hold that the rent-roll of Bengal was prepared on its basis.

Further, the Ain reveals that the cultivators, of their own accord, used to pay the revenue.[226] The voluntary payment of revenue by the cultivators is also in line with the ideal of Todar Mal's Regulations. The Regulations instructed the collectors to create such an atmosphere in which the cultivators would voluntarily deposit their revenue to the treasury.[227] Abu-l-Fazl's statement that "the cultivators are obedient and revenue paying",[228] suggests that the peasants of Bengal used to pay the state's dues voluntarily during pre-Mughal times also.

It is thus evident that Todar Mal introduced no new feature in the existing revenue system of Bengal. He had just prepared, as is revealed from the Ain, a new rent-roll. The Raja also divided the province into twentyfour *sarkars* including the five *sarkars* of Orissa for the purpose of revenue administration. The total *jama'* of the province, as fixed by Todar Mal, was 59 *karores* 84 *lakhs* and 59, 319 *dams* in cash. This new rent-roll came to be known in this part of the country as *jama'-i-tumar*.[229]

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226. Ain. I. p. 319.

227. Article III of T. M's Regulations. Appendix III.

228. Ain. I. p. 389.

229. Ibid. p. 393. The following are the names of the twentyfour *sarkars* of the province of Bengal :

1. Udambar or Tanda
2. Jannatabad or Lakhnauti
3. Fathabad
4. Mahmudabad
5. Khalifatabad
6. Bakla
7. Purnea
8. Tajpur
9. Ghoraghat
10. Pinjarah
11. Barbakabad
12. Bazuha
13. Sonargaon
14. Sylhet
15. Chatgaon
16. Sharifatabad
17. Sulaimanabad
18. Satgaon
19. Mandaran
20. Jalessar
21. Bhadrak
22. Katak (Cuttack)
23. Kaling Dandpat
24. Raj Mahendrih

Did Todar Mal prepare the *jama'-i-tumar* or rent-roll of Bengal on the basis of actual assessment of the entire province? It seems that he did not. First, *sarkar* Chatgaon finds place in his rent-roll; but it was at that time in the possession of the Arakanese. The Mughals conquered it during the reign of Aurangzeb. Secondly, he got only a little more than three months, most of which comprised the rainy season. It was, therefore, not possible to conduct actual assessment of a large province comprising 24 *sarkars* within such a short time and especially during the rainy season when movement was very much restricted due to the flooded conditions. Thirdly, the conquest of Bengal was not completed at that time; Mughal authority was practically established only over the cities and their neighbourhood and the vast country-side was actually ruled by the local *zamindars*, several of whom started resisting the Mughals.

It seems that Todar Mal prepared the rent-roll of Bengal on the basis of the records of previous regimes that came to his hand after the capture of Tanda, the provincial capital.[230]

IV. Conclusion

We can now form a general estimate of Todar Mal's contribution to Akbar's revenue reorganisation, first in Northern India as a whole except Bengal and then in Bengal. Todar Mal was connected with almost all the steps that were taken to make Akbar's land revenue system steady and stable. In the early years of Akbar's reign the system was generally a continuation of the previous one. There were, however, two exceptions. On the one hand, inflated valuation or assessment was made according to the sweetwill of the revenue ministry;

230. Moreland holds the same view. But *jama'*, according to him, means here valuation and not demand. A. S. M. I. p. 196.

on the other hand, grain rates were commuted into cash ones. In the 7th regnal year (1562-63) I'timad Khan made improvement in the revenue administration of the crown territories. But we are in the dark as to what method was adopted by him.[231]

Actually the first important change in the method of of assessment was made in the 11th regnal year (1566-67) when Muzaffar Khan and Todar Mal abolished the *jama'-i-raqami* and introduced a new *jama'* based on the reports of the local *qanungos*. Thus Todar Mal along with Muzaffar Khan Turbati deserves the credit of bringing the assessment nearer to reality.

It was Todar Mal who introduced measurement for the purpose of assessment during Akbar's reign and devised the classification of land. This was first done in Gujarat and later on it was applied to many parts of the empire viz., *subahs* of Bihar, Allahabad, Audh (Awadh), Agra, Malwa, Ajmer, Delhi and Lahore. The Raja also suggested to the emperor the extension of the crownlands where the relation between the cultivators and the state would be direct. Moreover, the emperor consulted him and Shah Mansur in adopting the Ten Years' Settlement and entrusted them with the task of implementing the latter. Although the Raja could not take part in executing the Ten Years' Settlement owing to his preoccupation in military operations, he perfected the procedure of collection and the revenue administration in general through the formulation of the Twelve Regulations. All these steps together with Fath Ullah Shirazi's memorandum or report gave final shape to Akbar's land revenue system. Whatever changes were made afterwards were concerned with details only.

231. A. N. II. pp. 178-79 ; It seems from the Ain that I'timad initiated the idea of *karori* system. But Abu-l-Fazl does not clearly state whether the *karoris* were appointed during his tennure of *diwan-i-khalsa*. Ain. I. pp. 9, 10 ; Eng. Tr. p. 13.

In Bengal Todar Mal adopted, as has been stated earlier, a different method. Whatever the process adopted, his settlement had a lasting effect. The nature of settlement lasted throughout the Mughal period. Even the changes that we find in the *jama'-dami* figure of the province during the governorship of Shah Shuja' and Murshid Quli (Jafar Khan) were caused not due to any new settlement, but owing to the acquisition of new territories and increase in demand for particular area which had been made from time to time. That is why the Mughal Settlement of Bengal came to be known as Todar Mal's *Bandobast*.

We thus see that Akbar's land revenue system was practically Todar Mal's creation. Its success is proved by the fact that the system continued to exist both in Northern India and in Bengal not only throughout the Mughal period but even for several decades after the establishment of British authority. That is why the Mughal land revenue system came to be known to the posterity as Todar Mal's *Bandobast*. This earned for him a lasting name. His fame spread throughout the Indian sub-continent and within a century he became a legendary figure. This is evident from the account of Chandrabhan, a 17th century writer, who gives three anecdotes regarding the Raja's achievements in this field.[232] Almost all the revenue experiments made afterwards by different revenue experts were acknowledged by their authors to have been taken from the Raja's system or copying of the same. Both Khafi Khan and the *Ma'asir-ul-Umara* state that the reforms made by Murshid Quli Khan in 1650s in the Deccan were made on the basis of the system of Todar Mal.[233] One thing should be noticed that the rate of Murshid Quli's levy varied from one-half to one-ninth according to the irrigation

232. *Chahar Chaman*. ff. 29-31.
233. Khafi Khan. I. p. 732 ; M. U. III. p. 497.

and other facilities of cultivation.[284] This has been called by the scholars as the differential system of taxation. Khafi Khan states that as the *diwan* of the Mughal empire Todar Mal had introduced it.[285] But this is not corroborated by any contemporary authors. No later writer supports the contention of Khafi Khan. On the other hand, Sadiq Khan, a contemporary of Murshid Quli Khan, categorically states that this was an innovation of the latter.[286] Under the circumstances we are unable to accept Khafi Khan's account and credit the Raja with this innovation.

V. Currency System

One of the important achievements of Akbar's reign was the establishment of a sound currency system. Akbar's coins were of a very high metallic standard and purity and also of fine shape. In this regard he was, however, indebted to Sher Shah, who had discarded the coins of mixed metals.[287] Moreover, Abu-l-Fazl states that the *rupiya* "was first introduced by Sher Khan," but it was perfected during Akbar's reign and received a new stamp.[288] The value of Akbar's coins (gold, silver and copper) corresponded to the market price of the metal contained in them and the ratios of exchange among the units of different metals were standardised. The coins of Sher Shah would show that he also sought to do the same things.

234. Khafi Khan. I. pp. 732-35 : M. U. III. pp. 497-500.

235. Ibid. pp. 156, 195.

236. Sadiq Khan. ff. 185b-186a, as quoted by Dr. Irfan Habib. I. Habib. pp. 227-28.

237. Thomas, *The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*. p. 403 ; H. N. Wright, *Coinage and Metrology*. p. 362 ; I. G. II. pp. 145, 146; R. B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coin in the Punjab Museum*, Lahore pp. xx ; *Akbar The Great*. II. p. 204.

238. Ain. I. p. 26 : Eng. Tr. p. 32.

Todar Mal made notable contributions to the development of Akbar's currency system. It is evident from Abu-l-Fazl that Akbar's coinage was perfected after several experiments during the period from 1577 to 1594. Todar Mal's contributions in this regard can be estimated only after consideration of all the reforms. No important step was taken in this regard before the 22nd regnal year/ 1577-78. In November, 1577, the emperor summoned Muzaffar Khan Turbati, Raja Todar Mal and Khwaja Shah Mansur to a Privy Council held in the neighbourhood of Kotputli. It was decided after a thorough discussion that the management of the mints of the empire so long performed by the *chaudhuris* should now be assigned to important ministers and officers. Accordingly the mint of Bengal was entrusted to Todar Mal and those of Fatehpur, Lahore, Jaunpur, Gujarat and Patna to 'Abd-us-Samad Shirinqalam, Muzaffar Khan, Khwaja Shah Mansur, Khwaja Imad-ud-din Husain and Asaf Khan respectively. The Privy Council also decided to mint square rupee.[239] It seems from the Ain that the name of this rupee was *Jalala*. Abu-l-Fazl writes : "The *Jalala* is of a square form, which was introduced during the present reign."[240] The purpose of this step was undoubtedly to improve the administration of the mints. It is thus clear that Todar Mal was associated with or had a hand in the very first step taken for the development of the currency system.

Todar Mal, according to the Ain, made the first reform in the existing monetary system during Akbar's reign.[241] Corrupt and evil persons, according to Abu-l-Fazl, used to do great harm to the state and the people at large by "rubbing down the coins, or by applying similar methods."[242] So to prevent this mischief it was necessary,

239. A. N. III. p. 227.
240. Ain. I. p. 26 : Eng. Tr. p. 32.
241. Ain. I. p. 26.
242. Ain. I. p. 26 : Eng. Tr. p 33.

on the part of the state, to fix the value of coins of different weights, metals and shapes. The Ain states that "when the reins of the government were in the hands of Raja Todar Mal",[243] he made the reform. What was the date? Blochmann suggests that it was the 27th regnal year of Akbar (11th March, 1582—10th March, 1583).[244] But the MS of the *Akbarnama*, preserved in the British Museum, states that Todar Mal's Regulations, in which we find the identical account of the reform as given in the Ain, were approved by the emperor on 3rd March, 1582 i. e., at the end of the 26th regnal year.[245] So it can safely be said that the first reform in the currency system was made by the Raja in Akbar's 26th regnal year.

Todar Mal, according to Abu-l-Fazl, allowed four kinds of *muhr* to be current. (i) One was *La'l-i-Jalali* of full weight of 1 *tola* and $1\frac{3}{4}$ *surkhs* with the name of the emperor stamped on it.[246] It was quite pure. The Raja fixed its value at 400 *dams*. The *La'l-i-Jalali* was square in form and used to be regularly coined in the imperial mints.[247] Besides, he standardised the value of the round *muhr* (which was in circulation from the beginning of Akbar's reign) of three different weights. (ii) The round *muhr* of full weight was of 11 *mashas*. Both this and the *muhr* weighing slightly less by 3 *birinj* (grain of rice) were valued at 360 *dams*, provided these were of perfect metallic purity. (iii) A *muhr* less by 3 *birinj* to 1 *surkh* in weight was valued at 355 *dams* and (iv) if deficient by 1 to $1\frac{1}{2}$ *surkhs* in weight its worth

243. Ain. I. p. 26; Eng. Tr. p. 33

244. Ain. I. Eng. Tr. p. 33,

245. Add 27, 247, f. 331b.

246 Nos. 66-70 of the B M. C.

247. The weight of Akbar's square *muhr* generally varies from 179 to 187 grains. I. M. C. III. pp. 9-16; P. M. C. II. pp. 19-26; L. M. C. II. pp. 8-12.

4 *birinj*=1 *surkh*, 8 *surkhs* =1 *masha*, 12 *masha*=1 *tola* or 96 *rati*. 1 *rati*=1·93 grains.

should be 350 *dams*. *Muhrs* of less weight would cease to be regarded as coins and be considered as bullion.[248]

Of the *rupiyas* (silver rupees or coins) three kinds were considered standard and made current. (i) One was *Jalala* of square form and of the weight of 11½ *mashas* of pure silver. Its value was fixed at 40 *dams*. (ii) Apart from *Jalala*, Todar Mal fixed the worth of the round *Akbarshahi rupiya* of two different weights. If it was of full weight of 11½ *mashas* or deficient by 1 *surkh*, its value would be 39 *dams* and (iii) the *rupiyas*, deficient by 1½ to 2 *surkhs*, should be valued at 38 *dams*. *Rupiyas* of less weight would be considered as bullion.[249]

Todar Mal thus sought to standardise the value of coins of different metals and of different weights and shapes. 40 copper *dams* made a square silver *Jalala*; and 10 *Jalalas* made one square gold *La'l-i-Jalali*; 9 *Jalalas* made a round *muhr*.[250] As the Raja fixed the value of the square *rupiya* (*Jalala*) and the round *rupiya* as 40 and 39 *dams* respectively, it seems that he raised the value of *rupiya* (rupee) which was, according to the Ain, 35 *dams* during the earlier years of the reign.[251] Moreover,

248. Ain. I. pp. 27-28 · A. N. III. p. 363 : Add 27, 247. f. 332b. The weight of Akbar's round *muhr* generally varies from 166 to 170 grains. I. M. C. III. pp. 9-16 : P. M. C. II. pp. 19-26 : L. M. C. II pp. 8-12.

249. Ain. I. p. 28 Eng. Tr p. 34. The weight of Akbar's *rupiya* (rupee) varies, with the exception of a few, from 170 to 178 grains. I. M. C. III. pp. 16-37 : P. M. C. II. pp. 26-53 ; L. M. C. II. pp. 13-66. Khafi Khan (I. pp 155-56) states that Todar Mal introduced the silver rupee of the weight of 11 *mashas* discarding the black (alloyed) *tanka* which was in circulation up to that time. But Abu-l-Fazl, the contemporary official historian, categorically states that the silver *rupiya* was introduced by Sher Shah and the coins of Sher Shah, which have come down to us, undoubtedly prove Abu-l-Fazl's version.

250. The ratio of exchange, according to Todar Mal's refrom, among the *La'l-i-Jalali*, *Jalala* and *dam* was 1 : 10 : 400 and among the round *muhr*, *Jalala* and *dam* was 1 : 9 : 360.

251. Ain. I. p. 176.

although the Raja prescribed that round *muhr* and *rupiya* deficient by 3 *birinj* and 3 *birinj* to 1 *surkh* respectively would be deemed to be of full value, he allowed no such concession in case of square coins, gold and silver (*La'l-i-Jalali* and *Jalala*).

But Todar Mal's system did not continue for long. It underwent a change two years later. On 27th or 28th October, 1584 (18th *Mihr*, 29th *Ilahi* year) Mir Fath Ullah Shirazi made the second reform. He prescribed that *muhrs* up to 3 *birinj* and *rupiyas* up to 6 *birinj* less in weight should be considered as perfect and no deduction in value should be made, whilst the Raja had allowed deduction only in case of round *muhrs* and round *rupiyas* deficient up to 3 *birinj* and 1 *surkh* respectively. Further, the Mir considered the *rupiyas* deficient in weight up to 6 *birinj* instead of 1 *surkh* prescribed by the Raja as full weight. Fath Ullah Shirazi changed the value of the round *muhrs* deficient by 1 *surkh* and $1\frac{1}{2}$ *surkhs* from Todar Mal's 355 and 350 *dams* to 355 *dams* and a fraction and 353 *dams* and a fraction respectively. The Mir discarded the regulation that *muhrs* of less weight would be considered as bullion. As regards, *rupiya*, the Mir made the value of the round one (*Akbarshahi* rupee) of full weight or deficient by 1 *surkh* in weight at par with that of the square rupee (*Jalala*). He also changed the value of the round *rupiya* deficient by $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 *surkhs* from Todar Mal's 38 dams to 38 *dams* and a fraction.[252]

It is thus evident that the Mir accepted Todar Mal's valuation of the *La'l-i-Jalali* and *Jalala* of full weight and of the round *muhr* of full weight or deficient by 3 *birinj*.

During the deputation of Fath Ullah Shirazi to Khandesh in July, 1585, the charge of currency department was again entrusted to Todar Mal. He estimated the value of *muhrs* which had been expressed in *Jalala* (i. e., square

252. Ain. I. p. 28.

rupee), in round (rupee). Abu-l-Fazl comments thus : "From bigotry and obstinacy (Todar Mal) refixed the deficiency on *muhrs* and *rupiyas* according to the first rates."[253]

The first portion of this account is very ambiguous. It is not intelligible why the Raja, who had previously expressed the value of *muhrs* in the square rupees (Jalala), would estimate the same in the round rupees. Secondly, as the Mir had already made the worth of the round rupee at par with the square rupee (*Jalala*), there remained no difference in estimating the price of *muhrs* either in the *Jalala* or the round rupee.

When in June, 1590, Qulij Khan "received the charge of the government, he adopted the Raja's method of estimating the *muhrs* ; but he deducted ten *dams* for a deficiency in the weight of a *muhr*, for which the Raja had deducted five *dams* ; and twenty *dams* for the former deduction of ten *dams* , whilst he considered every *muhr* as bullion, if the deficiency was $1\frac{1}{2}$ *surkhs*. Similarly, every *rupiya*, the deficiency of which was one *surkh*, was considered as bullion."[254]

The part of the account that Qulij Khan deducted "twenty *dams* for the former deduction of ten *dams*, whilst he considered every *muhr* as bullion, if the deficiency was $1\frac{1}{2}$ *surkhs*", is contradictory. As Todar Mal deducted ten *dams* for the deficiency of $1\frac{1}{2}$ *surkhs* for which Qulij Khan deducted 20 *dams*, how could he prescribe that *muhr* deficient by $1\frac{1}{2}$ *surkh* should be considered as bullion ?

As the currency system was not working satisfactorily, the emperor (3rd or 4th April, 1592) took steps to improve the situation. This, according to the Ain, was the final reform in the currency system.[255] But the same author states in the *Akbarnama* that a reform in the currency

253. Ain. I. p. 28 ; A. N. III. p. 465.
254. Ain. I. pp. 28-29 ; Eng. Tr. p. 35.
255. Ain. I. p. 29.

system was made in the 39th regnal year (1594-95).[256] But as the *Akbarnama* gives no particulars of this step, there is no other alternative but to accept the Ain's account. The emperor, according to the Ain, adopted the second i. e., Fath Ullah Shirazi's method with the exception of the regulation that *muhrs* deficient up to 3 *birinj* and *rupiyas* deficient up to 6 *birinj* should be considered as of full weight.[257] The reason behind discarding this particular regulation was that taking advantage of it, the corrupt officials of the mints and treasuries had been cheating both the state and the people. The mint officials often minted the coins of the prescribed deficiency and took the deducted metal for their personal use whilst the officials of the treasuries used to rub down the same from the coins of full weight deposited in the treasury. Further, evil persons including these officials, taking advantage of the existence of various types of *birinj* or rice-grain used to apply light or small grain in weighing and thus reduced the coins actually deficient by 3 and 6 *birinj* or grain to 6 and 9 *birinj* respectively. To check this corrupt practice, it was ordered that only grain of the *Babaghuri* type of rice should be applied in weighing coins. Moreover, the revenue collectors and treasurers were prevented from demanding any particular type of coins by another regulation.[258] Thus Akbar established a sound currency system and almost made it a standard one for the greater part of the Mughal period.

It is clear from the above discussion that Todar Mal's contribution to the development of the currency system of Akbar and also of the Mughals in general was quite noteworthy. His valuation of the *La'l-i-Jalali* (square *muhr*), round *muhr* and *Jalala* (square) rupee was accepted in the final shape of the monetary system

256. A. N. III. p. 651 ; M. T. II. p. 380

257. Ain. I. p. 29.

258. Ain. I. p. 29. As the *Babaghuri* type of rice cannot be traced. we are unable to ascertain the weight of this type of rice-grain.

during Akbar's reign. Further, he raised the value of rupee both square and round from 35 *dams* to 40 and 39 *dams* respectively and thus almost made the *dam* the fortieth part of the rupee.

VI. Benevolent Activities

An idea of Todar Mal's benevolent activities may be formed from contemporary literary, historical and epigraphic sources. The Raja had to his credit many works for the benefit and welfare of the people. One such work was the filling up of the Anuptalao with coins. The emperor, then residing at kotputli on his way to Fatehpur, ordered this to be done sometime at the end of April, 1578. Todar Mal, according to Abu-l-Fazl, reported that by the time of the arrival of the emperor at Fatehpur the tank would be filled. The Raja also stated that 17 *karores* of *dam* had already been poured in and another 17 *karores* would be sufficient to fill it to the brim.[259] It seems from Abu-l-Fazl's account that Todar Mal was instructed to take measures to accomplish the task, which he did ably as is evident from the said author's account that the reservoir was filled with various coins by October, 1578.[260]

It is very difficult to identify the Anuptalao. It was, according to Abu-l-Fazl, a beautiful reservoir, twenty by twenty yards in area and twice a man's height in depth, in Daulatkhana-i-Khas (perhaps the royal palace) at Fatehpur Sikri.[261] This seems to be the Kapur tank of the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*. It states that Kapur tank was thirtysix by thirtysix cubits and four and a half cubits deep and it took 34 *karores*, 48 *lakhs* and 46 thousand *dams* to fill it.[262] Further, there is an account of a tank,

259. A. N. III. p. 246.
260. Ibid. pp. 257-258.
261. A. N. III. p. 246 ; Eng. Tr. p. 354.
262. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*. Eng. Tr. I. p. 260.

situated in Mahal-i-Khas, in the report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Volume XVIII, Architecture of Fatehpur Sikri, 1894-95. Its dimension 95 feet and 7 inches square is fairly greater than those given by Abu-l-Fazl and Jahangir. It might be that the tank had increased in size with the passing of time. Moreover, Mahal-i-Khas seems to mean the royal palace.

The purpose of filling the Anuptalao with coins was to accumulate wealth which would be distributed to the people in times of distress.[263] But Abu-l-Fazl does not specifically mention the measures taken for the purpose, the manner by which the tank was completed and the classes of the people from whom the money came.

As regards guarding, it can be said that as the Anuptalao was situated in front of the royal palace, which was under constant watch, there arose no question of protecting it.

The *Sarga Saukhya* of the *Todarananda*, an encyclopaedic work comprising various branches of Hindu *Sastras*, states that Todar Mal had dug tanks and established gardens. All these had spread his fame far and wide.[264] This is not merely an eulogist's panegyric ; but this is to some extent corroborated by Abu-l-Fazl. It is known from the author that the Raja had a tank dug near Sarai Abad.[265] Abu-l-Fazl does not mention the date of its excavation. He only states that the emperor, on his way to Punjab, "took some repose (on 22nd *Shahriyar*, 30th *Ilahi* year/2nd September, 1585) near Sarai Abad on the bank of a tank which Raja Todar Mal had made. The Raja scattered largesse and presented gifts, and offered

263. A. N. III. p. 246.

264. *Todarananda*. I. p 5. The *Todarananda* was composed under the patronage of Todar Mal. For particulars see Section II, Chapter XII.

265. A. N. III. p. 467; Eng. Tr. p. 705 Sarai Abad seems to be at halfway between Fatehpur Sikri and Delhi as Abu-l-Fazl states that starting on 11th *Shahriyar* from Fatehpur Sikri the emperor reached Sarai Abad and Delhi on 22nd and 31st *Shahriyar* respectively.

thanks-givings."[266] Todar Mal also had another tank excavated near Lahore.[267] That Todar Mal continued to perform such beneficent works up to the end of his life is evident from an inscription found on the wall of Draupadi-kunda in Sivapur at Benares. It states that Govindadas had this beautiful tank dug at Pandava-mandapa in 1646 *Samvat*/1589-90 (sometime before Todar Mal's death in November, 1589) in pursuance of the order of the Raja who had done many acts for people's benefit.[268]

That Todar Mal had great solicitude for the welfare of the poor s evident from the following account of Abu-l-Fazl. In the 27th regnal year/1582-83 the emperor had a consultation with important officials as to what should be done for the welfare of the people. Todar Mal said that there should be arrangements for distribution of charity everyday at the palace and that the officers should be ordered to take care of the paupers every week, month or year.[269]

The Raja's sympathy towards the poor is also evident from the following tradition. During the marriage ceremony of his son, he distributed *gendoras* (cakes made of sugar only) with a valuable jewel placed on each among *khatris*. His servants, however, forgot to present the usual share to a very poor man. The latter thereupon complained to his friends. On hearing the complaint, Todar Mal immediately went barefooted and bareheaded to the poor man's door and humbly begging his pardon offered him double the share.[270]

266. A. N. III. p. 467 ; Eng. Tr. p. 705.

267. Ibid. p. 569,

268. *Todarganandam*. I. p. 395 , *Itihasasamgraha*. I. Pt. IV. p. 20.

269. A. N. III. p. 380.

270. This tradition had been communicated by Babu Kashinath, Headmaster, Anglo-Vernacular School, Sirsa, Allahabad, to the Philological Secretary of A. S. B. and was published in the Proceedings of A. S. B. (August, 1872). p. 142.

CHAPTER XII

CULTURAL AND RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES

I. Todar Mal as a Man of Letters

Todar Mal was not only a brilliant military general and an efficient administrator but also a highly cultured person. None of the Persian authorities, contemporary or later, throws light on the Raja's education and extent of learning. But some contemporary and near contemporary Sanskrit sources and later Hindi works throw light on the Raja as a man of letters.

It is known from the Introduction to *Dana Saukhya* of the *Todarananda* that he was a "jewel among the learned" and well versed in the various branches of (Hindu) *Sastras*.[1] That he was an expert in *Vyavahara Sastra* (Law or Legal Procedure) is evident from the Introduction to *Vyavahara Saukhya* of the same treatise.[2] His commentary on '*Nidanasthana*' of the famous treatise, *Astangahriday Samhita* of Vag Bhatta reveals that he was also well versed in *Ayurvedic* (Medical) *Sastras*.[3] In this commentary the Raja showed his originality and up to that time his was the only commentary on '*Nidanasthana*' of the *Astangahriday Samhita* of Vag Bhatta besides that of Arun Dutta.[4]

Writers on the history of Hindi literature also represent him as a learned man. As for example, Thakur Sivsingha states that Todar Mal was an expert in Arabic, Persian

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1. ASL 2370. f. 1a.
2. ASL 2371. f. 1a; BORI 366 of 1875-76. f. 1a.
3. BORI 1037 of 1886-92. f. 156b. Vag Bhatta flourished in the 8th century A.D. M. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*. Eng. Tr. III. Pt. II. p, 635.
4. Arun Dutta is said to have flourished in the 13th century A.D. The name of his commentary is *Sarvanga Sundari*. Ibid; Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, I. p. 30.

and Sanskrit languages and had translated the *Sreemad Bhagavat* from Sanskrit to Persian.[5] Grierson also holds this view.[6]

A number of Hindi verses written by the Raja have come down to us. These have secured him a place among the Hindi poets of the 16th century.[7] Most of his poems are on morals (*niti*). Although his poems are not of a very high standard, some of them have reflected his power of keen observation. His language is simple and his use of words is appropriate and excellent. Most of his poems contain his personal feelings.[8]

The Trienniel Report regarding the search of Hindi MSS states that one Sri Mayasankar Yagnik of Mathura had prepared a collection comprising all the available poems of Raja Todar Mal.[9] Apart from the poems on morals, there are poems on *Radha-Krishna-Prem* or love and on '*Bhakti*' or devotion in this collection. This reflects that he was a *bhakta* or believer in *Bhakti* cult.

Besides, Todar Mal wrote a number of verses relating to the art of writing '*hundi*' (bill of exchange or draft) and accounts book or of keeping accounts. These also showed the Raja's assessment of the functions and the characteristics of *saraf, vyapari, chaudhuri, adatiya* and *sahukar.*[10]

5. *Siv Singh Saroj.* p. 425 ; *Misrabandhu Vinod.* I. pp 271-72 , F E. Keay, *A History of Hindi Literature* p. 34.

6. *Modern Vernacular Literature.* pp. 34, 35.

7. *Siv Singh Saroj.* p. 425 ; *Misrabandhu Vinod* I pp. 271-72 Ram Chandra Shukla, *Hindi Sahitya Ka Itihasa* p 201 ; *Akbari Darbar Ke Hindi Kavi.* pp. 51-53, 452-53 ; *Akbar the Great* III. pp. 138-39.

8. NPH MS (Hindi) No. 62. Unfortunately this MS is now missing. But some of the poems are quoted in *Misrabandhu Vinod* I. pp. 271-72 , R.C. Shukla, *Hindi Sahitya Ka Itihasa.* p. 201 ; S. Agraval, *Akbari Darbar Ke Hindi Kavi.* pp 52-53, 452-53.

9. *Khonj Me Upalabdha Hasta Likhita Granthon Ki Traivarsik Vivaran.* XV. (1932-34). p.343.

10. *Akbari Darbar Ke Hindi Kavi.* pp. 452-53.

Maulana Musharf Husain states that credit should be attributed to Todar Mal for the style of writing a book on money-lending and commercial letters which are in vogue nowadays. Moreover, he writes that the book *Khazana-i-Israr*, according to some learned persons, was written by Todar Mal. But Maulana Husain states that the book, according to its Introduction, was written in 1005 H i. e., 8 years after the Raja's death in 997 H. Muhammad Husain thinks that somebody had added this Introduction to the book actually written by the Raja. The book is divided into two parts —one deals with religion, learning and the procedure of worship and the other part relates to various things concerning daily ceremonials. With the help of it or by memorising its verses the *vyaparis* and money lenders or wholesalers could solve big problems or do great works and school students could make calculation orally.[11]

No book concerning all these has come down to us or is found. Only some verses, as stated above, are found in the collection. All these verses are written in Hindi mixed with Persian.

It is known from some later Persian chroniclers viz., *Khulasatu-t-Twarikh*, *Khulasatu-l-Insha* and *Khulasatu-s-Siyaq* that Todar Mal made Persian the sole language of the revenue department.[12] This later evidence is indirectly supported by Abu-l-Fazl. The 2nd article of Todar Mal's Twelve Regulations, which got the emperor's approval on 3rd March, 1582 (26th regnal year), prescribed that henceforward one reliable and efficient *bitikchi* would be appointed in place of two inefficient and corrupt ones.[13] Since the time of Sher Shah two *bitikchis*—one to write in Persian and another in Hindi—had been associated with

11. *Darbar-i-Akbari*. pp. 529-30.

12. *Khulasatu-t-Twarikh*. p. 409; *Khulasatu-l-Insha*. f. 115a; *Khulasatu-s-Siyaq*. f. 65a. The latter two references are taken from I. Habib. p. 281n44.

13. Add 27, 242. f.331b ; A N. III. p. 382.

each of the *'amils.*[14] As the official language of the Mughal empire was Persian, it is obvious that the Hindi scribe was disposed of by the Raja. Todar Mal thus made Persian the sole language of the revenue matters. The *Khulasatu-s-Siyaq* states that the complete shift to Persian was made in the 27th regnal year/11th March, 1582—10th March, 1583.[15]

This measure of the Raja was of far-reaching significance. It deprived Hindi of state's patronage and relegated it from one of the official languages of the empire to a regional language only. In consequence, the growth of Hindi language suffered a setback. On the other hand, by forcing the Hindu officials to learn Persian the Raja indirectly opened up before them new channels of employment. This step also paved the way for the Hindus to come in contact with the political life of the state and indirectly helped them to get the necessary training in administration and statecraft. As a result they were able to secure high and responsible jobs under the Mughals.

But the most important significance of this step of Todar Mal was the rapid growth of Urdu as a dialect. The study of Persian by the Hindus and their increasing contact with the Muslim officials paved the way for the propagation of this new dialect which gradually replaced Hindi in some parts of India.[16] Nowadays Urdu is considered to be one

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14 Elliot. IV. pp. 413-14.

15. *Khulasatu-s-Siyaq.* f. 65a (As quoted in I. Habib. p. 281n45)

16. Regarding this measure Blochmann comments : "Todar Mal s order and Akbar's generous policy of allowing Hindus to compete for the highest honours—we saw on p. 363 that Man Singh was the first Commander of Seven Thousand—explain two facts, first, that before the end of the 18th century the Hindus had almost become the Persian teachers of the Muhammadans ; secondly, that a new dialect could arise in upper India, the Urdu, which without the Hindus as receiving medium, never could have been called into existence.', Ain. I. Eng. Tr. pp. 377-78. But the view that Todar Mal's above mentioned measure caused the emergence of the Urdu cannot be accepted as the latter began to be used from Turko-Afghan period.

of the most advanced languages of Indo-Pakistan sub-continent and also the mother tongue of several millions of Indians. So it will not be an exaggeration to state that this was Todar Mal's most important reform.

II. Todar Mal's Patronage of Learning

odar Mal was a great patron of learning. His greatest contribution in this field is the *Todarananda*, an encyclopaedic Sanskrit work embracing almost all the branches of Hindu learning. First of all, it is necessary to have a discussion on its authorship.

It seems from the colophons of the various sections *(Saukhya)* of the work that it was written by the Raja. The following are a few examples of them :

In the beginning :

"The king Todaramalla speaks clearly....."
"Todara, the lord of the earth, develops the *Griha Saukhya*....."[17]

In the end :

"Thus ends the tenth section of the *Avatara Saukhya* composed by Maharajadhiraja Srimat Todaramalla, the chief-minister of the Persian monarch called Srimajjalal-dina Akbarsaha....."
"Thus the *Vastu Saukhya* in the *Todarananda* written by Sriman Maharajadhiraja Sri Todaramalla becomes complete....."
"Thus ends the *Samaya Saukhya* composed by Todaramalla....."[18]

Dr. Yusuf Husain rightly observed that this reform of Todar Mal indirectly paved the way for the propagation of the Urdu all over the country. *Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture*. p. 112.

17. ASL 2373. f. 1a ; 2381.f.1a ; *Todarananda*m. I. pp. 401. 402.

18. ASL 2361. f. 204a ; 2381. f. 28a ; 2375. f. 20b ; *Todarananda*m. I. pp. 386, 403.

But it is difficult to accept that Todar Mal was the author of this large treatise. The following reasons may be adduced in this connection :

(i) It is clearly stated in the introductory portion of the *Sarga Saukhya* that the Raja once invited the scholars and requested them to prepare this work :

"This humble person (Todar Mal) once invited the real scholars or *pandits* and after paying them due respect asked them to prepare this treatise containing the essentials of various *Puranas* and *Smritis*....."[19]

(ii) The volume of the *Todarananda* was so large (about 80,000 *slokas*)[20] and it treated such varied topics viz., philosophy, astronomy, mathematics, law, politics, medical science etc., that it was almost impossible, however learned, for a single scholar, let alone the Raja, to handle them properly.

(iii) It is evident from the language of the various sections of the work that it was written by different persons. It has been shown by Dr. P. L. Vaidya that in some places the language is very immature and even grammatically incorrect, whereas at some other places it is not only perfect but very excellent.[21]

(iv) Todar Mal had not adequate time, during the period between A. D. 1572 to 1589 when the treatise was prepared,[22] to write such an extensive book, equal in volume to the *Mahabharata* minus *Harivamsa*.

(v) The colophons themselves suggest that the work was not written by the Raja. It is customary with the authors to express themselves humbly, whereas the colophons depict Todar Mal (the author) as *'Bhupati'*, *'Mahipati'*, *'Raja'*, *'Maharaja'* or *'Maharajadhiraja'*. Had

19. ASL 2361. f. 2b ; *Todaranandam*. I. p. 5.
20. *Todaranandam*. I. Introduction. pp. XXX and 395, 414.
21. Ibid. pp. XXVI, XXVIII.
22. Ibid. p. XXX

Todar Mal been the author, he would not have expressed such laudatory remarks about himself as the following :

"With his (Todar Mal's) appearance the sun
of the empire rose up to illuminate the
world removing the darkness, created by
the dark and cruel Kali, from other kings ..."
"He, who had recovered the *Vedas* dipped into
the ocean by the *mlechchhas*, was the fish
incarnation of Visnu..... ....."[23]

(vi) The title '*Todarananda*' means the work which delights Todara, also suggests that it was not written by the Raja.

(vii) The colophon of the *Samhita Saukhya* (belonging to *Jyotisa* or *Kalaganana Saukhya*) clearly states that this section was written, under the patronage of Todar Mal, by Nilkantha, son of Ananta.[24] Another section—the *Vivaha Saukhya*—was also written by Nilkantha.[25] This Nilkantha seems to be the author of *Sajnatantra*. In his commentary on *Sajnatantra* Nilkantha's son Govinda states that Nilkantha was honoured by Akbar and had written the *Tadarananda*.[26] Again, the colophon of Govinda's commentary on Nilkantha's *Tajika Nilkanthi*, a treatise on *Jyotisa*, states that the name of Nilkantha's father was Ananta and the family belonged to Vidarbhadesa (Berar). It also states that Nilkantha wrote three sections of *Jyotisa* and this gave delight to Todara.[27] Further, the author of the *Vastu Saukhya* states that his *guru* was Ananta.[28] In his *Tajika Nilkanthi* Nilkantha has mentioned his father, Ananta, as his *guru*.[29] So it can

23. *Todaranandam*. I. pp. 5, 406.
24. BORI 915 of 1886-92. ff. 22b, 23a, 34a&b, 40b, 172b.
25. Peter Peterson, *A Fourth Report of Operations in Search of Sanskrit MSS in the Bombay Circle*, April, 1886—March, 1892. p 34.
26. *Catalogue of Sanskrit* MSS. B. B. R. A. S. Pt. I. p. 187.
27. Peterson, *Catalogue of Sanskrit* MSS, Alwar. Extract No. 502.
28. ASL 2381. f. 1a ; *Todaranandam*. I. p. 402.
29. *Tajika Nilkanthi*. p. 1.

safely be said that he was the author of the *Vastu Saukhya*. It is thus evident that of the 23 sections of the *Todarananda*, at least, three were written by Nilkantha.

The above mentioned facts indicate that the *Todarananda* was not prepared by the Raja.

Let us now try to ascertain the authors of this voluminous treatise. It was, according to Dr. P. L. Vaidya, written by Benares *pandits* headed by *Jagadguru* (preceptor of the world) Narayana Bhatta under the patronage of Raja Todar Mal.[30] In support of his view, Dr. Vaidya states that Todar Mal was the patron of Narayana Bhatta belonging to the Bhatta family which was the foremost of the four families of great *pandits* of Benares in the 16th century. Further, Dr. Vaidya states: "It was achieved in Benares as is evident from certain reference such as *kasyang Sri Visvanatha sannidhau likhitam*"[31]

There is no doubt that Todar Mal had contacts with Narayana Bhatta. The latter's son, Sankara Bhatta, states that during a *sraddha* ceremony Narayana Bhatta subdued the *pandits* of Mithila and Gaur who had assembled at the Raja's house.[32] But Sankara Bhatta gives no hint that Narayana Bhatta was in any way connected with the compilation of the *Todarananda*. Further, other contemporary or near contemporary authors, who had dealt with the life and works of Narayana Bhatta, are also silent regarding Narayana Bhatta's relation to the preparation of the said treatise. Moreover, the words *'kasyang Visvesvara* (not Visvanatha, as qoted by Dr. Vaidya) *sannidhau likhitam'*, mentioned in the colophon of one of the MSS of the *Jyotisa Saukhya*,[33] does not necessarily mean that all other *Saukhyas* were written by the Benares *pandits*. We find the words *'Agrai nagare Sri Akbarsaha Jalaldina*

30. *Todaranandam*. I. Introduction. p. XXV.
31. Ibid. p. XXIX.
32. *Gadhivamsavarnanam* (Transcribed copy). f. 17.
33. BORI. 317 of 1882-83. f. 171b ; *Todaranandam*. I. p. 398.

rajye likhitam (composed in the city of Agra belonging to the kingdom of Sri Akbarsaha Jalaldina)' in the *Achara Saukhya* and *Vyavahara Saukhya.*[34] This positively contradicts the notion that all the *Saukhyas* were written at Benares or by Benares *pandits.* Rather, the mention of Agra in two *Saukhyas* suggests that some of the *Saukhyas* were written outside Benares or by *pandits* living in places other than Benares.

It may, therefore, be reasonably held that Todar Mal invited *pandits* or scholars belonging to different parts of India and entrusted each of them with the preparation of one or two particular *Saukhyas* or branches of learning in which he had already been considered as an expert. It may also be urged that the scheme of the work was made by the Raja himself who invited different scholars well versed in one or more particular branches of learning. That Todar Mal used to have contacts with the *pandits* belonging to various parts of India is evident from *Gadhivaṃsavarnanam* which states that Narayana Bhatta (of Benares) subdued the *pandits* of Gaur and Mithila who were invited by the Raja to a *sraddha* ceremony.[35] *Jagadguru* Narayana Bhatta, whose contact with the Raja had been specifically mentioned, might be the author of one or two of the *Saukhyas.* But in absence of any positive evidence it is difficult to accept Dr. Vaidy's suggestion tha the *pandits* prepared the *Todarananda* under his leadership or he acted as the general editor.

The work, *Todarananda,* consists of the following 22 sections as it appears from the introductory portion of the first section, *Sarga Saukhya* :

(1) *Sarga* (creation), (2) *Avatara* (incarnation), (3) *Kalaganana* (calculation of time), (4) *Kalanirnaya* (fixing of auspicious time for various religious rites), (5) *Desa* (suitable place or residence), (6) *Sanskaras* (of

34. ASL 2365. f. 179a&b ; ASL 2371. f. 90b.
35. *Gadhivamsavarnanam.* f. 17.

a twice born), (7) *Achara* (conduct), (8) *Suddhi* (the question of purity and impurity caused by death or birth in a family), (9) *Sraddha* (annual or periodical offerings to the dead), (10) *Varsakritya* (observances during the year), (11) *Vratas* (vows or fasts), (12) *Pratistha* (installation of images), (13) *Puja Vidhana* (rituals for worshipping different deities, (14) *Dana* (gifts), (15) *Śantika* (pacification of deities and performances to bring about prosperity), (16) *Tirtha* or *Yatra* (pilgrimage to holy places or expedition), (17) *Vivaha* (marriage), (18) *Vyavahara* (legal procedure), (19) *Rajaniti* (state craft or politics), (20) *Prayaschitta* (expiation for sinful deeds), (21) *Karmapaka* or *Karmavipaka* (fruits of bad and good deeds to be experienced in the next life) and (22) *Ayurveda* (medical science).[36] Besides, there is one MS named *Agama Saukhya* dealing with *Mantrasastra* in the Anup Sanskrit Library.[37] Although it does not find place in the table of contents given in the introductory portion of the *Sarga Saukhya*, it is clearly evident from its Introduction that it belongs to the *Todarananda*. Further, the MS, dated *Samvat* 1631/A. D. 1574-75, is a contemporary one.[38] The inclusion of this *Saukhya* was made, as stated by Dr. P. L. Vaidya, at a later stage in order to maintain its encyclopaedic character.[39]

Of the above mentioned 23 *Saukhyas*, *Rajaniti* (No. 19) and *Karmavipaka* (No. 21) are not included in the MS consulted and are yet to be traced. The portions containing the beginning and the end of the *Sraddha Saukhya* are missing. The number of *slokas* of the remaining sections, as shown by Dr. P. L. Vaidya, amounts to 72,150. This means that the total number of *slokas* of the treatise (including the missing sections) will be around 80,000

36. ASL 2361. f. 2b, 3a ; *Todaranandam*. I. p. 6.
37. ASL 2376.
38. Ibid. f. 23a ; *Todaranandam*. I. p. 413.
39. *Todaranandam*. I. p. 413.

slokas which is approximately equal to the volume of the *Mahabharata* minus *Harivamsa*.[40]

The object, as revealed in a number of *slokas*, was (i) to acquaint the people, who had become lazy due to the influence of *Kaliyuga*, with the essentials of various branches of Hindu learning and (ii) to recover the laws and customs of the *Puranas* and *Smritis* which had become obscure owing to the hundreds of false interpretation and the influence of the *mlechchhas* or non-Hindus (Muslims ?).[41]

It should be borne in mind that since the establishment of Muslim authority in India, the Hindus had to face various difficulties in practising religious rites and learning, teaching and discussing *Dharma Sastras*. Akbar's tolerant attitude and equal treatment to people belonging to all sects and religions opened, for the first time, during the Muslim hegemomy in India, the opportunity of practising religious rites and learning and discussing the *Dharma Sastras* to every community. Todar Mal, as an ardent follower of Hindu religion and believer in the Hindu *Sastra*, fully utilised the opportunity and caused the compilation of this great work containing the essentials of almost all the branches of Hindu learning. Undoubtedly it was a great achievement. That is why the *pandits* made various laudatory and glorious remarks about Todar Mal and depicted him as the fish incarnation of Visnu.[42]

Apart from the *Todaranandа*, there are several other works which are associated with his name. One is *Todaraprakasa*, a work on *Dharma Sastra* written by Raghunandan Misra.[43] Another is *Todaraja*, a work on *Jyotisa*. written by Nilkantha, the author of *Jyotisa Saukhya*

40. *Todaranandam*. I. pp. XXV, 414.

41. Ibid. p. 6 ; ASL 2366. f. 1a.

42. ASL 2368. f. 1a.

43. Lahore. 14. The particulars of Raghunandan Misra cannot be traced.

of the *Todarananda.*[44] There is a treatise on music called *Svaramelakalanidhi.* The colophon states that it was written, under the patronage of Raja Todar Mal, by Ramamatya.[45] The MS reveals that the Raja had interest in or was a lover of *Sangit Sastras* or music. Besides, we find a number of *slokas* glorifying Todar Mal in Manirama's *Padya* or *Sloka Samgraha.*[46] It seems from the unlimited glorification of the Raja in the *slokas* that Manirama was a *protege* of Todar Mal.

III. Patronage of Architecture

Todar Mal was interested in architecture also. In this field his most important act was the reconstruction of the famous Visvanatha Temple at Benares. According to one local tradition, Narayana Bhatta, son of Ramesvara Bhatta, rebuilt on a grand scale the temple of Visvanatha which had previously been demolished by the Muslims. Once the country had been experiencing serious drought. Narayana Bhatta prayed for rains. According to his forecast, the rains came to the delight of all. So he was able to secure the necessary permission from the local Muslim authority to reconstruct the temple of Visvanatha.[47] This tradition is confirmed by a 17th century literary evidence. Divakara Bhatta, the daughter's son of Sankara Bhatta, the son of Narayana Bhatta, writes that the great Narayana Bhatta, son of Ramesvara, established the Visvesvara Temple.[48]

Another tradition current in Benares states that Raja Todar Mal had once invited Narayana Bhatta to the annual

44. K. 228.

45. ASL 3540. The particulars of Ramamatya cannot be traced.

46. BORI 361 of 1884-86; *Todaranandam.* I. pp. 393-94. The particulars of Manirama cannot also be traced.

47. *Vyavahara Mayukha* (edited by Ghorpore). Introduction. p.1; *History of Benares.* p. 48.

48. Eggling, *Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS of India Office.* I. p. 547.

sraddha ceremony of his father. During Narayana Bhatta's presence the Raja saw his ancestors in a vision. Owing to this, the Raja's admiration and respect for this preceptor became boundless and on the request of the latter he supplied the necessary funds for the re-erection of the temple of Visvanatha.[49]

That Todar Mal had invited Narayana Bhatta to a *sraddha* ceremony is confirmed by a contemporary evidence which we have stated earlier.[50] This undoubtedly proved the Raja's link with Narayana Bhatta and indirectly supports the tradition that, under the patronage of Raja Todar Mal, Narayana Bhatta re-erected the Visvanatha Temple in the 16th century.

The temple of Visvanatha, built under the patronage of Raja Todar Mal, was to the west of the persent Visvanatha Temple and between these two temples lies the famous Jnana-Vapi *mandapa* and well. The site of the 16th century temple is now occupied by the mosque built after the demolition of the temple during the reign of Aurangzeb.

The 16th century temple was square in form, each side being 124 feet in length. At its centre stood the main shrine of Visvanatha. This sanctuary was also square in form and its dimension was 82 feet. It is now occupied by the central square of Aurangzeb's mosque. At its centre the principal Linga of Mahadeva stood in an ornamental reservoir, having an underground channel to pour the water of the Ganges day and night. Adjoining the central structure were four ante-chambers being 16 feet by 10 feet i. e., 160 square feet in area. Beyond them were smaller ante-chambers being 96 (12×8) square feet in area. These led into four *mandapas* which were 16 feet square. These were Mukti-*mandapa* on the south, Sringara-*mandapa* on the west, Aisvarya-*mandapa* on the north and Jnana-*mandapa* on the east of the main sanctuary.

49. *History of Benares*. pp. 48-49.
50. Vide Section II of this Chapter.

There stood four small temples with sanctuaries of 12 feet square at the four corners of the main shrine. On their two sides were small *mandapas* being also of 12 feet square. These, according to Prinsep's plan, correspond to Tarakesvara, Ganesa, Bhairava and Mankesvara in the north-eastern, north-western, south-western and south-eastern corners respectively. We find no mention of Nandi, inseparable from a Siva temple, in Prinsep's plan. In Dr. A. S. Altekar's plan we find that the Nandi of the 16th century temple was outside the Lord's shrine.

It is difficult to ascertain the height of the temple. The height of the wall of the temple incorporated in Aurangzeb's mosque was about 30 feet and its spire seems to commence from this point. Dr. A. S. Altekar writes that as the walls were 16 feet wide, they might have supported a spire about 128 feet in height.[51] Each of the four *mandapas* and the four subsidiary shrines had a spire and together with the spire of the main temple they secured to form a beautiful group of nine spires.

The temple had the path of *pradakshina* or cricumbulation whose area was equal to that of the mosque of Aurangzeb. The path of *pradakshina* was studded over with the temples of minor deities. They were the shrines of Gangesa, Nandikesa, Tarakesa, Mahakalesvara, Dandapani, Mahesa, Mokshesa, Virabhadresvara, Avimuktesvara and *pancha* (five) Vinayakas.[52]

Todar Mal's temple did not last long. The *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri* states that in obedience to the emperor's (Aurangzeb's) order of destroying the schools and temples of infidels, this temple was demolished by the government officers and this was reported to the emperor on 15th *Rabi-ul-Akhir*, corresponding to 2nd September, 1669.[53]

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51. *History of Benares.* p. 52.

52. The description of the temple is based on Prinsep's plan and the account given by Dr. A. S. Altekar in his *History of* Benares.

53. *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri.* pp. 81, 88.

It seems from Aurangzeb's order and the subsequent destruction of the Visvanatha Temple that the latter was not only a very renowned Hindu shrine but also became an important centre of religious education. Manucci writes that Aurangzeb demolished the temple of Visvanatha and built a mosque in its place.[54]

It is thus evident from the above account that Todar Mal's temple, built on a grand scale, was gorgeous and imposing. In comparison with it the present temple, erected by Devi Ahalyabai of Indore in the 18th century, is very small. The entire edifice stands on a plot of 50 feet square and its sanctuary comprises a small square of about 8½ feet. The height of its spire is only about 60 feet.[55]

Todar Mal was proficient in military architecture also. During Sher Shah's reign he superintended the construction of the fort of Rohtas in Punjab.[56] His knowledge of the fort architecture was utilised by the emperor Akbar who sent him to "examine the methods of ingress and egress of the fort" of Surat.[57] He showed his great skill, knowledge and experience in this regard, during the siege of the fort of Chitor when along with Qasim Khan he successfully completed the construction of *sabat* against heavy odds.[58] The same performance was repeated during the siege of the fort of Ranthambhor.[59] Moreover, Todar Mal built a number of forts on the way during his successful campaign against the Yusufzais.[60]

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54. Manucci. I p. 81.
55. *History of Benare* . pp. 57-58.
56. Vide Section IV, Chapter I.
57. Vide Section I, Chapter IV.
58. Vide Section I, Chapter III.
59. Vide Section II, Chapter III.
60. Vide Chapter IX.

IV. Religion

It is known from the *Todarananda* that Todar Mal was an ardent believer in religion and God. He had also deep faith and conviction in Hindu *Sastras* and rituals. The Raja belonged to *Vaisnava* sect of Hinduism.[61] The *Vaisnavas*, the worshippers of Lord Visnu, are divided into different groups or sects. One of these is the *Pustimarga* (the path of divine grace) sect founded by Vallabhacharya who flourished during the 15th and 16th centuries. He was the son of a Tailanga *brahman*, Lakshmana Bhatta, who had migrated from his native place Kankara in the Telugu country to Benares.[62] The theme of *Pustimarga Vaisnavism* has been expounded as follows :

"The sportive boy Krisna of the cow-settlement with all his pranks is the highest god of this school,.... The sportive Krisna with his (mistress) Radha is transferred to a heaven which is in a region higher than the ordinary *Vaikuntha* of Narayana or Visnu and is called *Golaka*. The highest aim of man's life is to get to this place and join in the sports".[63]

After the death of Vallabhacharya in 1587 *Samvat* 1530-31, his eldest son Gopinathji became the *guru* of this new sect. The latter was succeeded by his brother Gosain Vittalji. Todar Mal was the follower of Vittalji.[64]

That the Raja was an admirer and a devotee of Lord Krisna is evident from a number of *slokas* of the *Sarga Saukhya* of the *Todarananda*. We learn that his devotion

61. *Todarnanandam*. I. pp. 4-6.

62. R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaisnavism. Saivism and Minor Religious Systems*. pp. 76-79 ; Vallabhacharya was born in 1535 *Samvat*/1478-79 and died in 1587 *Samvat*/1530-31. *Vallabha Digvijay*. pp. 7 ; 52 & 53.

63. R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaisnavism. Saivism* and *Minor Religious Systems*. p. 82.

64. *Astachap Parichaya*. pp. 16-17, 24, & 41.

to Lord Krisna remained always strong in his heart and that he established various images of Lord Krisna in his palace.[65] It should be noted that the *Krisna-Avatar* section comprises more than half of the *Avatar-Saukhya*. This means that the space allotted to the *Krisna-Avatar* section is greater than that allotted to other nine *Avatars* together. As the Raja, under whose patronage the treatise was prepared, was a devotee of Lord Krisna, the *pandits* quite naturally gave *Krisna-Avatar* section so much space.[66] Although Todar Mal belonged to *Pustimarga Vaisnavism*, he had no ill feelings towards other sects of Hinduism. The reerection of the Visvanatha Temple under his patronage is a clear proof of this. This reveals that the Raja was liberal and tolerant in his attitude towards other sects of Hinduism.

Todar Mal was a rigid follower of orthodox Hindu practices, as is evident from the *Achara Saukhya*.[67] It was, according to Abu-l-Fazl, his regular practice to worship his gods and goddesses everyday before taking any food or drink and also doing any business. In order to maintain this practice, he used to carry his images of gods and goddesses wherever he went. Once in November, 1577, when the imperial army, headed by the emperor, halted at Ambar on its way from Ajmer to the Punjab, Todar Mal lost his images of worship in the turmoil of moving the camp. Todar Mal was greatly shocked at this loss. He became so overwhelmed with grief and frustration that he gave up all works and was even unable to sleep and take any food whatsoever.[68]

Let us now discuss an event which was connected with Todar Mal's religious affiliation. This is narrated in *Chaurasi Vaisnavon Ki Varta*, written by Hariray, grandson

65. *Todaranandam*. I. p. 5.

66. The *Avatar Saukhya* comprises 348 pages. Of these, 188 pages are devoted to the *Krisna Avatar section*. *Toda anandam*. I. pp. 39-386.

67. ASL 2364. f. 1a ; *Todaranandam*. I. p. 404.

68. A. N. III. p. 221 ; Eng. Tr. p. 310.

of Govindarayji, the second son of Gosain Vittalji, at the end of the 17th century.[69] It states that Krisnadas, a disciple of Vallabhacharya and the *'adhikari'* or person in charge of the temple of Srinathji at Govardhan,[70] proposed to Gosain Vittalji to dismiss the Bengali *brahmans*, who had been serving as priests since the construction of the said temple in *Baisakh*, 1576 *Samvat*/ April-May, 1519-20.[71] He wanted to dismiss the Bengali priests who, according to him, were misusing the gifts offered by the devotees and thus hampering the growth and development of the temple. Gosain Vittalji agreed to Krisnadas' proposal after some hesitations and wrote a letter each to Raja Todar Mal and Raja Birbar. In these letters Gosainji stated that Krisnadas, the *adhikari* of the Srinathji Temple, wanted to dismiss the Bengali priests and appoint others. He also asked the addressees to do whatever Krisnadas would desire. Krisnadas came to Agra and showed the letters to Todar Mal and Birbar. The latter assured Krisnadas to manage the affairs if after their dismissal the Bengali priests would complain to the ruler of the country (*desadhipati*). Krisnadas came back to Govardhan and dismissed the Bengalis. The latter, after a fruitless complaint to the *hakim* of Mathura,[72] came to Agra and lodged complaint to *desadhipati* i. e., Akbar. On the latter's enquiry Todar Mal and Birbar reported that the temple belonged to Gosain Vittalji, that previously he had the Bengalis as its priests and used to bear their expenses, but that he had now discharged them. A few days after, Krisnadas, in accordance with the order of

69. Dindayal Gupta, *Astachap aur Vallabha Sampraday*. pp. 80, 81.

70. Govardhan is a town in the district and *tahsil* of Mathura, U. P.; situated in 27° 30″ N and 77° 28″ E. It is about 12 miles west of Mathura city. I. G. XII. p. 280.

71. *Astachap Parichya*. pp. 10, 11.

72. Mathura is the headquarters of the district and tahsil of the same name in U. P., situated in 27° 30″ N and 77° 28″ E on the right bank of the Jamuna. I. G. XVIII. p. 72.

Akbar, came to Agra and met Todar Mal and Birbar who advised him to keep quiet. Todar Mal and Birbar then reported to Akbar that Krisnadas, the *adhikari* of the Srinathji Temple had come. They also communicated to the emperor that as Krisnadas did not like to keep the Bengalis, he had appointed others. This satisfied the emperor who disallowed the complaint of the Bengalis. Todar Mal and Birbar told the Bengalis that the emperor had approved of their dismissal and asked them to leave the place quietly, otherwise, they would have to face trouble. After meeting Todar Mal and Birbar again, Krisnadas came back to Govardhan and reported the entire matter to Gosain Vittalji, then residing at Adel near Allahabad. Vittalji then went to Govardhan and after consultation with Krisnadas appointed the Bhitria *brahmans*, of which Ramdas was the chief, as priests.[73]

When did the event occur? As Hariray does not furnish us with the date, let us try to ascertain it. Two things are clear from the above account. (i) At that time Gosain Vittalji was the *acharya* or head of the *Pustimarga* sect. (ii) Ramdas along with some other Bhitria *brahmans* of Gujarat were appointed as priests after the dismissal of the Bengalis. It is known from *Caurasi Vaisnavon Ki Varta* that there arose a dispute on the question of succession to *acharya* between Vittalji and Purusottamji, the only son of Gopinathji, the elder brother of Vittalji. Krisnadas stood for the cause of Purusottamji and did not allow Vittalji to enter the temple of Srinathji for about six months. At the time of the dispute Ramdas and his Bhitria colleagues were the priests of the Srinathji Temple.[74] It is thus clear that the dismissal of the Bengalis took place before the succession dispute between Vittalji and Purusottamji and during the life time of Purusottamji. It is known from *Sampraday*

73. *Caurasi Vaisnavon Ki Varta*. pp. 925-35.
74. Ibid. pp. 965-67.

Pradip, a contemporary Sanskrit treatise, that by the time of its completion in 1610 *Samvat*/1553-54 both Purusottamji and his father Gopinathji were dead.[75] It can, therefore, be safely assumed that the dismissal of the Bengalis occurred before 1610 *Samvat*/1553-54. Akbar ascended the throne in February, 1556 and Todar Mal and Birbar joined the the Mughal service after that date. How is it possible to link Akbar with an event which had taken place before his accession? It is also very difficult to accept that Todar Mal and Birbar had any connection with the incident which occurred before their entering the Mughal service.

It seems that Vittalji wrote letters addressing two officials who managed the situation at the court that had arisen after the Bengalis had lodged complaint. As Todar Mal and Birbar were disciples of Vittalji, Hariray, who had written the treatise more than hundred years after, perhaps thought that Todar Mal and Birbar were the officials who managed the affairs at the court and to whom Vittalji addressed his letter. This seems to be the reason behind linking Todar Mal and Birbar and also Akbar with the said incident. But the whole incident involving these three personalities seems to be doubtful.

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75. *Sampraday Pradip. Chaturtha Prakaranam.*

CHAPTER XIII

CHARACTER AND ACHIEVEMENT

I. Todar Mal As a Man

No detailed or systematic information is supplied by contemporary or later authors regarding the appearance and personality of the Raja whose life-history has been drawn in the preceding pages. Nevertheless it is possible to paint a fair picture of his personality from the incidental notices made by some of them. The *Sarga Saukhya* of the *Todarananda* depicts him as *vimala-murti* or a man of fair complexion. It also states that he was humble and had no weakness for women and other worldly pleasures.[1]

It has already been shown in the previous chapter that the Raja was a man of letters and a great patron of learning and other benevolent activities. A man of wide capacities, Todar Mal showed his proficiency in various subjects ranging from poetry to warfare and from architecture to currency and revenue administration. He possessed certain sterling qualities viz., honesty, loyalty, absence of avarice, self-confidence, endurance, perseverance, uprightness, straight-forwardness, skill and ability. Although the Raja came of a humble family, all the above mentioned qualities contributed to his great success in life and earned for him the position next to the emperor in the administration. The *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* calls him as *Mutma'in-ud-daulah*,[2] evidently for his loyalty and trustworthiness.

Todar Mal was a fine speaker too. On the eve of the battle of Tukaroi, he, with his persuasive tongue, raised the drooping martial spirit of numerous Mughal soldiers

1. *Todaranandam*. I. p. 5.
2. Mirat. I. p. 135.

and infused ardour among them.[3] His power of speech was amply demonstrated during the same battle when he encouraged the messenger, who brought the news of disaster of the Mughal Van, Advance Reserve and the Centre and the death and injury of Khan 'Alam and Mun'im Khan respectively, with the following words. "The ray of the Shahinshah's fortune, is shedding light on the heads of the courageous and loyal servants, if the days of one are ended, and if the feet of another have slipped, what injury has happened to fortune's countenance, and why should the strenuous supporters of dominion be dismayed. Don't prate, and don't say such things. The breeze of victory is about to blow and the light of success is emerging from the horizon of hope."[4]

Certain weaknesses in Todar Mal's character are mentioned in the *Akbarnama* and this is partly corroborated by the *Ma'asiru-l-Umara*. The latter is not strictly a contemporary source. But since the reference is based on a reported statement of Akbar, it deserves our full attention.[5] Broadly speaking, the allegations brought against Todar Mal are four viz., that he was (i) revengeful, (ii) dogmatic, (iii) conventionalist and (iv) prone to superstition and bigotry. But as in general Abul-Fazl was not a kind writer for the Raja, we should be careful in accepting his adverse comments on his character. Most of these have been made by Abu-l-Fazl only in a very general way. On the Raja's appointment as *mashraf-i-diwan* Abul-l-Fazl, after referring to certain noble features of Todar Mal's character, writes : "Would that he had not been spiteful *(kinawar)* and revengeful *(intiqam)* so that a little opposition would cause dislike to spring up in the field of his heart and acquire strength and substance. Such a quality is considered by the wise to be one of the worst qualities in a man, especially in an

3. A. N. III. p. 122; see ante Chapter V, Section I.
4. A. N. III. p. 125 ; Eng. Tr. p. 178.
5 M. U. II. p. 128.

administrator to whom men's affairs are entrusted, and who has been selected as the *vakil* of such a world-lord. If bigotry in religion (*ta'assub*) had not coloured his nature, he would not have had so many bad qualities."[6] Again, on the death of Todar Mal, Abu-l-Fazl, after making certain laudatory remarks regarding the deceased Raja, comments : "If he had not had bigotry (*ta'assub parastari*), conventionalism (*taqlid dosti*) and spite (*kina tozi*) and had not stuck to his own opinions, he would have been one of the spiritually great."[7] Let us now examine how far all the alleged weaknesses of the Raja are acceptable.

Abu-l-Fazl's first charge is that the Raja was spiteful and revengeful. But with the exception of one indirect reference we find no such activities of the Raja in Abu-l-Fazl's account. The author only states that "Qazi 'Ali, who had been put in prison at the endeavour (*koshish*)[8] of Raja Todar Mal, was released. Though he was unique for honesty, yet he had failed on account of the high fortune of his enemies. When his helplessness was made clear, H. M. (i e., His Majesty) showed him favour."[9]

This may appear at first sight to be one of the Raja's spiteful activities. But the mere endeavour to arrest a person does not necessarily mean that it was motivated by a spirit of revenge against the victim. The Raja's action might have been due to factors other than vengeance viz., misinformation, misunderstanding etc. Further, no details are available regarding the incident and

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6. A. N. III. p. 158 , Eng. Tr. p. 223 .

7. A. N. III. p. 569 ; Eng. Tr. p. 862.

8. Beveridge has translated the word '*koshish*' as '**instigation**'. A. N. III. Eng. Tr. p. 865. But as the dictionary meaning of the word is 'endeavour' or 'effort' or 'exertion' etc. and not 'instigation', the above change is made. Steingass. p. 1062

9. A. N. III. p. 571 ; Eng. Tr. p. 865. Qazi 'Ali was made *mir bakhshi* in Akbar's 24th year/1579-80, and *wazir-i-biyutat* in 35th year/ 1590-91. A. N. III. Eng. Tr. pp. 428, 546, 865, 877, 944-46.

Abu-l-Fazl does not state why the Raja became revengeful against Qazi 'Ali.

Some modern scholars like Beveridge and Moreland also hold the view that the Raja was revengeful. With reference to Abu-l-Fazl's remark that Todar Mal was spiteful and revengeful, Beveridge writes : "A. F. (Abu-l-Fazl) was thinking of Todar Mal's conduct to Shah Mansur. He put him in prison and in chains, and afterwards reported him to Akbar. He also perhaps had to do with his murder."[10] Let us now see what Abu-l-Fazl has to say regarding the Raja's attitude towards Shah Mansur. In his account of the 21st regnal year/1576-77 Abu-l-Fazl states : "One of the occurrences was that the far-seeing prince raised Khwaja Shah Mansur Shirazi, who was an adept at the mysteries of accounts, to the high office of *wazir*. He had formerly been appointed one of the head-officers of the perfumery department, but owing to his quickness and zeal (*josh-i-rashd*) he had disputes with Muzaffar Khan and was dismissed. After much ill-success he joined Mun'im Khan and when he came to court about the affairs of Bengal his abilities became conspicuous. When Mun'im Khan died, Raja Todar Mal on account of questions about accounts imprisoned him and put chains on him. H. M. from his great appreciation of merit sent an order, summoning him (Shah Mansur) to court".[11] He further writes that the Khwaja was appointed to this high post without any recommendation and experience.[12]

Abu-l-Fazl is the only contemporary author to furnish us with the information of Shah Mansur's arrest by Todar Mal. But he has not condemned Todar Mal in the above passage. Further, it is evident that Shah Mansur had had dispute with Muzaffar Khan and not with Todar Mal. Under such circumstances it is difficult to state that the Raja was revengeful towards Shah Mansur.

10. A. N. III. Eng. Tr p. 223n2
11. A. N. III. p. 193 ; Eng. Tr. p. 273.
12. Ibid.

Beveridge seems to suggest that Todar Mal's reporting to the emperor about Shah Mansur was spiteful. But it is to be noted that the Raja did the right thing by complaining against Shah Mansur as the latter's measures and treatment to the officials and *jagirdars* were some of the major causes of the rebellion of the officers of Bihar and Bengal.[13] Here also Abu-l-Fazl has made adverse comment not against the Raja but against the Khwaja.[14]

Regarding Todar Mal's involvement with the execution of Shah Mansur it can be said that none of the contemporary sources states that the Raja was connected with it in any way. Rather a later writer, Sujan Rai, positively states that Todar Mal had no connection with the incident.[15] Hence Beveridge's explanatory comments on Todar Mal's conduct lack all factual basis and cannot be accepted in justification of Abu-l-Fazl's general remark about Todar Mal's vindictive nature.

Moreland states that "Todar Mal joined to honesty and great capacity the qualities of obstinacy, ill-temper and vindictiveness".[16] He does not substantiate his statement with fact. Rather it is evident that he has made this comment on the basis of Abu-l-Fazl's remarks. Further, in supporting Badayuni's account that Todar Mal had severely punished and inhumanly tortured the *karoris* for their corrupt and torturous administration, he writes that "with an obstinate and vindictive minister like Todar Mal, dealing with the staff employed by his bitter enemy (Shah Mansur) there is no difficulty in believing that Badayuni's account, while it may be exaggerated in detail, is founded on substantial facts".[17] But we have already pointed out that the said account of Badayuni is not corroborated

13. Vide Section II, Chapter VII.
14. A. N. III. p. 316.
15. *Khulastau-s-Twarikh.* p. 409
16. A. S. M. I. pp. 103-104.
17. Ibid. pp. 107-108.

by any other contemporary writer.[18] Further, the enmity between Shah Mansur and the Raja is simply Moreland's assumption as none of the contemporary or near contemporary authors speaks of it. Moreover, the *karoris* were appointed in January, 1575.[19] At that time Shah Mansur was the *diwan* of Mun'im Khan, then the Mughal governor of Bengal and conducting campaigns against Daud Khan.[20] Shah Mansur was appointed *diwan* of the empire in October, 1576.[21] It is, therefore, evident that the *karoris* were not "the staff employed" by Shah Mansur. This clearly reveals the futility of Moreland's assumption that Todar Mal punished the *karoris* as they were appointed by his "bitter enemy (Shah Mansur)".

The second charge of Abu-l-Fazl is that the Raja was dogmatic i.e., he could not tolerate any opposition and used to stick to his own opinion.[22] A passage in the *Ma'asiru-l-Umara* seems to lend support to this charge. It states that "emperor Aurangzeb used to say that he heard from emperor Shahjahan that emperor Akbar had one day remarked, 'Todar Mal is very wise and prudent in financial and political affairs, but his unconcern and conceit cannot be approved".[23] In this regard also we find only one indirect reference in Abu-l-Fazl's account. In the middle of September, 1588, Todar Mal had a dispute with Shahbaz Khan. Abu-l-Fazl states that on enquiry "it appeared that self-interest had thrown a veil over the eyes of both of them. By proper measures, the dust of contention was laid".[24] One may interpret it as an example of the Raja's dogmatic attitude. But as the author neither specifically mentions the self interest of the

18. Vide Section IV, Chapter XI.
19. A. N. III. p. 117.
20. Ibid. pp. 116, 193
21. Ibid. pp. 193-94.
22. Ibid. pp. 158, 569.
23 M. U. II. p. 128.
24. A, N. III. p. 529 , Eng. Tr p. 807.

contending parties nor the measures to settle the dispute, it is difficult to accept that the event has reflected the Raja's dogmatic behaviour.

There was, according to Badayuni, a conflict between Todar Mal and Muzaffar Khan Turbati in 971 H/1563-64. But even this most hostile writer does not make him responsible for the dispute.[25] The *Ma'asiru-l-Umara* also does not refer to any incident to substantiate the above mentioned reported allegation against the Raja attributed to Akbar. On the other hand, we find certain incidents in Abu-l-Fazl's account which point to the opposite, i.e., the Raja's great tolerance to opposition and consideration for others' opinions. Abu-l-Fazl states that during Mughal campaign against Daud Karrani when Muhammad Quli Khan Larlas died, Qiya Khan and others opposed further advance of the army and created various troubles. The Raja tried his best to bring sense to the trouble-makers. When all his efforts went in vain, he gave up the march and sent a report to Mun'im Khan suggesting the measures which would pacify the disgruntled persons.[26] This account of Abu-l-Fazl reveals Todar Mal's patience and tolerance. The Raja's great tolerance was amply demonstrated during his campaign against the rebellions in Bihar. It is known from Abu-l-Fazl that Ma'sum Khan Farrankhudi had conspired to kill Todar Mal. In spite of this heinous act the Raja did take no precipitate action against Ma'sum Khan Farrankhudi. Morever, he kept him in his company and utilised him against the rebels.[27]

Thirdly, Abu-l-Fazl calls Todar Mal a conventionalist.[28] In making this remark, perhaps, the author had in his mind the Raja's attitude towards religion. It should be borne in mind in this connection that unlike Abu-l-Fazl and Raja Birbar, Todar Mal did not embrace *Din-i-Ilahi*

25. M, T. II. p. 65 ; also see Section I Chapter II.
26. Vide Section I, Chapter V.
27. Vide Section II, Chapter VII.
28. A. N. III. p. 569.

and remained firm in his conviction and beliefs regarding Hinduism to which he belonged. But that the Raja was a conventionalist in his religious attitude and a rigid follower of orthodox Hindu practices is evident from the introductory stanzas of the *Achara Saukhya* of the *Todarananda*.[29]

Fourthly, Abu-l-Fazl states that Todar Mal had religious bigotry and superstition and that all his weaknesses emanated from his bigotry.[30] In this regard we find a positive reference in his account. He states that "His (Todar Mal) rule was that until he had performed in a special manner his idols-worship, and had adorned them after a thousand fashions, he would not attend to business nor eat or drink. Suddenly, in the turmoil of moving the camp, the idols of that simpleton were lost. In his heartfelt folly he abandoned sleep and food. H.M. had compassion on him and administered consolations to him. He recovered somewhat and addressed himself to his duties".[31] This incident occurred in November, 1577 and for this Akbar's historiographer not only calls him simpleton but condemns him as one who was "at the head of mortals for superstition and bigotry."[32]

Abu-l-Fazl's criticism seems harsh, unreasonable and hence unjustified. There was nothing unreasonable or unnatural for an ardent devotee to become shocked when he lost his images of worship. Even nowadays we find hundreds of people who do not eat or drink or attend to any business before worshiping or paying homage to their gods and goddesses. In Akbar's reign even the *darshaniyas* did not begin their day's work or take food before they had a *darshan* or glimpse of the august personality of the emperor. Even Abu-l-Fazl himself gives no other instances of his superstition and bigotry. We find no mention of this in any other contemporary writings. Only Bayazid

29 ASL-2364, Sloka No. 2. ; *Todaranandam* I. p. 404.
30. A. N. III. pp. 158, 221, 569.
31. Ibid. p. 221, Eng. Tr. p. 310.
32. Ibid.

states that the Raja had become dissatisfied with him when he demolished a worn-out temple at Benares and established a *madrasha* in its place.[33] This attitude of the Raja reflects his sense of justice and not his bigotry. The emperor justly sympathised with Todar Mal's mental suffering and consoled him in such a manner that the Raja somehow recovered from the shock and began to take food and attend to his business.

The above discussion makes it clear that most of the alleged weaknesses of Todar Mal's character made by Abu-l-Fazl do not get support from the author's own account. His account has practically contradicted some of them.

In spite of his reservations, Abu-l-Fazl has made laudatory remarks about the Raja almost everytime he has to mention him. The author has depicted the Raja as "one of the unique of the world for ability, service and courage"[34] or as one "who was distinguished for trustworthiness, reliability and favour with the Court."[35] On Todar Mal's appointment as *mashraf-i-diwan*, Abu-l-Fazl comments : "if we look to the nature of men in general, in fulness of courage, absence of avarice—that market was always flat with him - in the performance of service, in diligence and skill he was a man such as is seldom seen, or rather he was incomparable".[36] On the death the Raja he remarks : "He was the unique of the Age for uprightness, straightforwardness, courage, knowledge of affairs and the administration of India (Hindustan)".[37]

33. Bayazid. p 312.
34. A. N. III. p 207 ; Eng. Tr. p. 292
35. A. N. III. p. 71 , Eng. Tr. p. 98.
36. A. N. III. p. 158 ; Eng. Tr. p. 223.
37. A. N. III. p. 569 ; Eng. Tr. p. 862.

II. As an Administrator and Statesman

Todar Mal was undoubtedly a great administrator and a successful statesman. Indeed he possessed all the qualities which are found in such men. His knowledge of human affairs, intelligence, , brilliant organising skill, political acumen, foresight, practical wisdom and capacity of handling various matters not only earned for him the covetable position of *mashraf-i-diwan* and *de facto vakil* but made him practically the most influential Mughal noble of his time.

As an administrator the Raja's achievements far outlived his successes in other fields viz, military and cultural affairs. That the Mughal land revenue system came to be known to the posterity as Todar Mal's *Bandobast* was entirely due to his great contribution.[38] Writing in the middle of the eighteenth century Khafi Khan observes with prophetic accuracy that the Raja's pioneering work in this field would be remembered for ever by all sorts of people of the twentytwo provinces of Hindustan.[39] Todar Mal's administrative achievements made him a legendary figure.[40] So far administrative achievements are concerned he may easily be ranked among the greatest of the Mughal nobles.

To his qualities as an administrator Todar Mal added political wisdom and leadership which were higher than mere administrative efficiency. His statesmanship was of a very high order. Todar Mal demonstrated his foresight more than once and in various ways. He rightly refused to sign the Treaty of Cuttack in April, 1575 as this would prevent the Mughals from completely crushing the Afghan resistance and give them the necessary respite to prepare themselves for the future contest. The subsequent events

38. Vide Section IV, Chapter XI.
39. M. L. I. p. 151.
40. Vide Section IV, Chapter XI.

fully vindicated the Raja's stand.[41] His statesmanship was again clearly revealed during his campaign against the rebels of Bihar and Bengal when he very judiciously removed some of the fundamental causes of the rebellion.[42]

Todar Mal wielded great influence upon the chiefs and *zamindars* of various regions ranging from the Kumaon Hills to Bihar. It was due to his influence that Raja Ganes of Nandun[43] and Raja Rudar (Rudra) of Kumaon Hills[44] acknowledged Akbar's suzerainty and accepted Mughal service. During the siege of Monghyr by the rebels he influenced the local landlords to stop sending supplies to the former.[45] In this regard Abu-l-Fazl's assessment of the loss caused by the Raja's death deserves our attention : "A wound was given to disinterested work and the market of business lost its briskness. I grant that an honest man (*dianatwar*) might be found, though he would be a fellow-nestling with the phoenix (*'anqa*), but by what charm or talisman could he acquire the influence (*i'timad*) which is so seldom given to mortals ?"[46]

If the Raja was respected by his admirers, he was feared by his enemies. During his second visit to Gujarat in 1577 the rebelious Mirzas, at first, did not dare to create trouble. They rebelled only when they thought that the Raja was to leave the province very shortly. Again, during the rebellion they vainly made all out efforts to kill Todar Mal and then flee to Junagarh.[47] The Mirzas rebelled again as soon as the Raja had left the province.[48]

His services in various other fields e. g., military, currency, literature, architecture and religion, reveal that

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41. Vide Section I, Chapter V.
42. Vide Section II, Chapter VII
43. Vide Section I, Chapter II
44. Vide Chapter X.
45. Vide Section II, Chapter VII.
46. A. N. III. p. 569 ; Eng. Tr p. 862.
47. Vide Chapter VI.
48. A. N. III. p. 214

his was a constructive talent which largely contributed to the consolidation of the Mughal rule in India.

III. As a Military General

Todar Mal's successful performances in the battle fields viz., the battles of Tukaroi in 1575, Rajmahal in 1576, Dholqa in 1577 etc., reveal that he was not only a great warrior but a superior general as well. With the exception of the battle against the Uzbeg rebels led by Iskandar Khan and Bahadur Khan the Mughals were victorious in almost all the battles in which he took part. Even in this battle although the major sections of the imperial army were defeated, the wing commanded by the Raja along with I'timad Khan and others continued to hold the ground till the evening.[49] It is thus evident that Todar Mal was practically never defeated in the battle field though he had to withdraw as a natural sequel of the defeat of the main army. His performances in the battle of Tukaroi were unique and brilliant. In the face of the disaster suffered by the Mughal Van, Advance Reserve and the Centre and the death of Khan 'Alam, the leader of the Van and injury and retreat of the supreme commander, Mun'im Khan, the Raja demonstrated his strong nerve, iron will, undaunted courage, ready intelligence, unswerving loyalty and the great capability of handling a very critical situation and thus turned a sure defeat into victory.[50] He played the role of sheet-anchor once again during the battle of Rajmahal.[51] So long Todar Mal had fought only as the leader of a wing. Most of the time he commanded the Left Wing which seemed to be his favourite position. Thereafter in all the battles he led the entire army.

49. Vide Section IV, Chapter II.
50. Vide Section I, Chapter V.
51. Vide Section III, Chapter V.

The Raja was a cautious general and never took a rash step. During his campaign against Daud Khan in 1574-75 when at Citua a large number of officers and soldiers refused to march further and fight, he, in order to infuse fighting spirit among the reluctant soldiers, requested Mun'im Khan, the supreme commander of the Mughal forces in Bengal, to come in person and take command of the campaign.[53] He repeated the same manoeuvre near Cuttack.[54] As an alert general the Raja used to keep his army always in readiness in order to meet any eventuality. His alertness enabled him not only to withstand successfully the sudden night attack of the rebellious Mirzas of Gujarat at Dholqa[54] but also to foil Ma'sum Khan Farrankhudi's attempt to murder him during his march against the rebels of Bihar. The Raja showed his moderation and sense of realism by not punishing Ma'sum Khan Farrankhudi for his evil design which might have created trouble within the army.[55]

The Raja was a fine strategist. He knew very well when to resort to defensive or offensive measures. His strategic skill was amply demonstrated during his campaign against the rebels in Bihar. Finding himself in an awkward position he, as a defensive measure, shut himself inside the fort of Monghyr. But at the same time he took various steps to weaken the enemy and strengthen the imperial forces so that he could take the offensive at an opportune moment and crush the rebels in future.[56] During his campaign against the Yusufzais he took a judicious but effective defensive-offensive measure. Realising that his army was not fit to fight the turbulent Yusufzais in their hilly country, the Raja, in order to

52. Vide Section I, Chapter V.
53. Ibid.
54. Vide Chapter VI.
55. Vide Section II, Chapter VII.
56. Ibid.

avoid a pitched battle, decided to lock the Yusufzais in their territory and force them to surrender by plundering, harassing and torturing the Yusufzais in such a besieged position.[57] On both the occasions his strategy was crowned with success. The Raja took the offensive when in face of the formidable rebellion of the Mirzas in Gujarat Wazir Khan, the governor of the province, had decided to shut himself inside the fort of Ahmadabad. This offensive strategy of the Raja was also crowned with success as the rebels began to retreat immediately and fled to Junagarh after a futile battle at Dholqa.[58]

IV. Todar Mal's Place in History

In the preceding pages the personality and work of Raja Todar Mal stand as fully revealed as is possible in the present state of knowledge. Born in a humble family and starting his career as a mere writer, he rose by degrees to the high posts of *wazir* and *mashraf-i-diwan* by dint of his extraordinary talent and ability and finally to the covetous position of the *vakil*. Todar Mal was honoured with the rank of *chahar hazari* i. e., the mansab of 4000. His courage. iron will, ready intelligence, sense of realism, foresight, fighting skill and continuous successes in the battle fields indicate that he was a great warrior and a general of a very high standard. Vincent Smith claims that Todar Mal was Akbar's "best general."[59] This assertion of Vincent Smith necessitates a comparison between the Raja and some of Akbar's important generals viz., Mun'im Khan, Husain Quli Khan (Khan Jahan) and Raja Man Singh.

Regarding the features of generalship Field-Marshal Viscount Montgomery of Alamein writes : "One of the

57. Vide Chapter IX.
58. Vide Chapter VI.
59. *Akbar The Great Mogul*. p. 89.

first responsibilities of a Commander-in-chief is to create what I have called 'atmosphere' as a state of mind in which his staff, his subordinate commanders, and his troops will live and work and fight. His armies must know what he wants; they must know the very fundamentals of his policy; they must be given firm guidance and a clear lead. Inspiration and guidance must come from above and permeate the whole force."[60] During his campaign against the Bihar rebels in 1580 Todar Mal summoned a council of officers and took decisions regarding the future course of action after a thorough discussion.[61] Mun'im Khan (before the battle of Tukaroi),[62] Khan Jahan (before the battle of Rajmahal)[63] and Raja Man Singh (before the battle of Haldighati)[64] did the same thing.

Field-Marshal Montgomery also states that there are two other basic requirements of generalship—to create a fighting machine and an organization of headquarters. "The fighting machine", continues Field-Marshal Montgomery, "must be so set in motion, at the appropriate time, that it can develop its maximum power rapidly. The troops must be launched into battle in a way which promises the best prospect of success and the troops must know this. The 'stage management' of the battle must be first class."[65] Todar Mal (in the battle of Dholqa),[66] Khan Jahan (in the battle of Rajmahal)[67] and Raja Man Singh (in the battle of Haldighati)[68] displayed this feature. But before his contingent was ready, Mun'im Khan proceeded to attack the army of Mah Jujak, the mother of Mirza

60. *A History of Warfare*. p. 21.
61. Vide Section II, Chapter VII.
62. Vide Section I, Chapter V.
63. Vide Section III, Chapter V.
64. *Raja Man Singh* by Dr. R. N. Prasad. p. 44.
65. *A History of Warfare*. p. 21.
66. Vide Chapter VI.
67. Vide Section III, Chapter V.
68. *Raja Man Singh*. pp. 44-49.

Hakim, at Jalalabad in Akbar's 8th year/1563-64 and so suffered a humiliating defeat. Further, his 'stage management' of the battle of Tukaroi was not up to the mark.[69] As regards the creation of an organization at headquarters, it can be said that the type of warfare practised in medieval times hardly needed it.

"The essence of tactical methods in battle", according to the Field-Marshal, "lies in the following factors :—

Surprise
Concentration of effort
Concentration of all armies
Control
Simplicity
Speed of action
The initiative."[70]

Almost all these qualites were displayed by Todar Mal (in his campaigns against the Mirzas of Gujarat, the rebels of Bihar and the Yusufzais),[71] Mun'im Khan (during his campaigns in Bihar and Bengal),[72] Khan Jahan (during his campaigns in Bengal)[73] and Raja Man Singh (in his campaigns against Rana Pratap and his numerous expeditions in Bihar, Orissa and Bengal).[74]

The above discussion reveals that as a general Todar Mal was superior to Mun'im Khan, but Khan Jahan and Raja Man Singh also displayed all the qualities possessed by the Raja. Therefore he can not be called as Akbar's "best general." Todar Mal can at best be ranked as one of the greatest generals of Akbar.

Todar Mal's achievements as a financier and administrator have far surpassed his successes in other fields. He not only made notable contributions to Akbar's currency

69. A. N. II. pp. 187-188 ; III pp. 123-26.
70. *A History of Warfare*. p. 21.
71. Vide Chapter VI, VII and IX.
72. A. N. III. pp. 19-23, 71-73, 103, 104, 107-109, 118-26.
73. Ibid. pp. 162-63, 177-82, 231-32, 259-60.
74. *Raja Man Singh*. pp. 44-51, 79-89, 91-97, 100-104.

system but also formulated the principles of a brilliant system of land revenue administration which was followed, with some modifications, till the early years of British rule in India. His successes in the field of land revenue were so great that he became a legendary figure within a few decades of his death and some of the later revenue reforms like those of Murshid Quli Khan in the Deccan came to be known as the Raja's works.[75] Indeed, Todar Mal's achievements in this field make him one of the greatest land revenue experts ever born in this sub-continent.

The Raja also excelled in the gentle arts of peace. He was himself a great scholar. His Hindi verses, his translation of the *Bhagavata Purana* into Persian and his commentary on the *Nidanasthana* section of Vag Bhatta's *Astangahriday Samhita*, all testify to the extent of his learning. The compilation of the encyclopaedic work, *Todarananda*, comprising almost all the branches of Hindu learning, and the writing of several other books by different experts constitute a positive testimony to his patronage of learning. His scholarship and scholastic activities together with the construction of the Visvanatha Temple at Benares under his patronage place him in the rank of those celebrated ministers of state like Kautilya, the chancellor of Chandra Gupta Maurya, Harisena, the court poet as well as the foreign minister and a military general under Samudra Gupta[76] and Sayanacharya, the prime minister and a military general under the Vijayanagara kings—Harihara II and Sangama II.[77]

75. Vide Section IV, Chapter XI.

76. *The Vakataka Gupta Age* edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar and Dr. A. S. Altekar. pp. 275, 407.

77. *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire (1346-1646)*, by Dr. B. A. Saletore. I. p. 257; Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar, *Madhavacharya And His Younger Brothers*. I. A. XLV. pp. 1-6, 17-24.

Like them too, Todar Mal showed his ability not only in statecraft but also in other fields of human activities.[78]

In the light of the above discussion it will be no exaggeration to state that Akbar owed much to Todar Mal for his military, administrative and financial achievements.

78. Sardar K. M. Panikkar rightly observes : "In this matter it may well be claimed that Todar Mall was but carrying on the tradition of the great statesmen of Hindu Empires, of Kautilya, the Chancellor of Chandra Gupta Maurya, of Harishena, the Minister of Samudra Gupta, of Sayana, the Minister of Vijayanagar and numerous lesser personages, who combined vast erudition with the gifts of practical administration." *Todaranandam*. I. Foreword. pp. xiv, xv.

APPENDIX I

Date of the Abolition of Jama'-i-raqami and the Introduction of a new Jama' based on Hal Hasil

Scholars differ regarding the date of abolition of *jama'-i-raqami* which was in vogue from the beginning of Akbar's reign and the introduction of a new *jama'* based on the reports or statistics of the actual produce supplied by the *qanungos*. This difference is due to the different dates, given in the *Akbarnama* and the *Ain-i-Akbari*.

In narrating the events of the 11th regnal year (10th March, 1566—9th March, 1567) Abu-l-Fazl writes in the *Akbarnama* that Akbar "turned his attention to the *jama'-i-pargana*, and under his orders Muzaffar Khan set aside *jama'-i-raqami-i-qalami*, which, in the time of Bairam Khan, had been nominally increased for the sake of appearances owing to the number of men and the smallness of the country ; and that (sc. the increase) had always remained entered in the public records, and was tools of corruption. *Qanungos* and experts of the whole empire, having, according to their own ideas, recorded the actual-yield (*hal hasil*) of the country, fixed another *jama'*. Although in point of fact, it (the new *jama'*) was not an actual yield, yet in comparison with the former *jama'* it is not far (sc. from the truth) to call it an actual yield."[1]

In the *Ain-i-Akbari* Abu-l-Fazl states : "When Khwaja Abdul Majid Asaf Khan was *wazir*, the *jama-i-wilayat* was *raqami*, and 'they' used to show whatever they pleased with the pen of enhanced salary. Seeing that the kingdom was not extensive, and that promotion of officers used to be frequent, there used to be increase

1. A. N. II. p. 270. We have taken Moreland's translation as it seems to be more accurate. A. S. M. I. pp. 241, 243.

and decrease from bribe-taking and self-interest. And when this supreme office (sc. the *wazarat*) fell to Muzaffar Khan and Raja Todar Mal, in the 15th *Ilahi* year, 'they' took the *taqsimat-i-mulk* from the *qanungos*, (and) having completed the *mahsul* by estimate and computation, a new *jama'* came into force. Ten *qanungos* were appointed, who, having received the schedules from the local *qanungos*, continued to deposit them in the record-office. Although it (sc. the new *jama'*) fell somewhat below the former, yet there was a very great distance from it (sc. the former) to the *hasil*."[2]

H. Beveridge writes: "In Jarrett and also in the Persian original, the 15th instead of the 11th is given as the date when the great office of *wazirship* devolved upon Muzaffar Khan and Todar Mal. I think that 15th here is a clerical error for 11th, the words *yazdahan* and *pazdahan* differing chiefly by a dot."[3]

Dr. Irfan Habib holds the same view. According to him, the measure was taken "in the 11th year of the reign under direction of Muzaffar Khan and Todar Mal".[4] He states: "In Ain, I, p, 347, the year given is the 15th and this reading is supported by the best MSS. But *panzdahum* (15th) in Persian writing is easily interchangeable with *yazdahum* (11th) and it is possible that the confusion took place at an early stage in the transcription of the work. The testimony of the *Akbarnama* on this point must be regarded as decisive since it follows a strictly chronological arrangement and places this event under the 11th year (A. N. II. p. 270). Moreland in *Agrarian System*, 246-7 accepts the force of this argument, but tries to reconcile the two discrepant pieces of evidence by saying that the work began in the

2. Ain. I. p. 347. Moreland's translation is followed. A.S.M.I. pp. 239, 243.
3. A.N. III. Eng, Tr. p. 402n1
4. I. Habib. p. 203.

11th year and finished in the 15th, a view which has textual support from neither of the two authorities."[5]

On the other hand, although he recognises the force of argument put forward by H. Beveridge, Moreland tries to reconcile the two statements by stating that the said measure was proposed in the 11th year and came into force in the 15th year as it took time to make the necessary enquiries and calculations.[6] In support of his view he puts forward the following arguments :

"Of the 12 MSS, which I have myself examined, 10 have the intial p clearly marked, and the remaining two are nearer p than y .....".[7]

"Again, the table of rates, which indicates a general change in assessment in the 15th year, indicates equally an absence of change between the 10th and the 12th."

"Again, the *Akbarnama* tells us (II. 333) that in the 13th year, the assessment of the Reserved lands by Measurement was given up, and Group-assessment substituted ; it is highly improbable that revised rates sanctioned in the 11th year should be discarded in the 13th, but it is quite likely that rates which had absolutely broken down should be discarded, and a temporary arrangement made, while waiting for the new rates to be sanctioned."[8]

Dr. A. L. Srivastava is in agreement with Moreland. He states : "I prefer Mr. Moreland's reading that the reforms begun in 1567 were completed in 1571, because the records of the 11th year of the reign in the *Akbarnama* and of the 15th year of the *Ain-i-Akbari* speak of one and the same thing. They are not 'two discrepant pieces of evidence' as Irfan Habib thinks (A. S. M. I. p.203n)".[9]

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5. I. Habio. p, 203n 34.
6. A. S. M. I. pp. 246-47.
7. Ibid. p. 246.
8. Ibid. pp. 246-47
9. *Akbar The Great*. II. p. 174.

But Moreland's arguments are not convincing enough. Although most of the MSS have the 15th yet there is at least one (as is recorded by Moreland himself) which has the 11th and there are others which are illegible.[10] It seems (as Dr. Irfan Habib suggests) "that the confusion took place at an early stage in the transcription of the work."[11]

As regards the second point of Moreland, it can be said that a glance at the table given in the *Ain-i-Akbari* will clearly reveal that the general change in the table of rates starts from the 10th instead of the 15th year.[12]

Moreland's third argument is based upon his interpretation of the term "*nasaq*". He interprets it as group-assessment. But this interpretation of the term "*nasaq*", as it is used here by Abu-l-Fazl, is difficult to accept. Shihabu-d-din Ahmad Khan, according to Abu-l-Fazl, abolished the *zabt-i-har-sala* and established a *nasaq*.[13] So *nasaq* replaced the *zabt-i-har-sala* 'or annual *zabt*. The essential features of the *zabt* system are cash revenue rates, measurement and classification of land. It is evident from the Ain's statistical table that starting from the 6th regnal year/1561-62 revenue rates continued to be fixed up to the 24th regnal year/1579-80.[14] It has been pointed out that measurement for the purpose of assessment was first adopted by Todar Mal in 1573 and classification of land was made at that time.[15] So the question of replacing the above mentioned three features of *zabt* does not arise in the 13th regnal year/1568-69. Our contention is that the system of taking annual statistics of produce and

10. A. S. M. J. p. 246n. "Sir Richard Burn informs me that, of the Bodlein MSS, 15th is quite clear in 214, but 215 has the 11th."
11. I. Habib. pp. 203, 204.
12. Ain. I. pp. 304-47.
13. A. N. II. p. 333.
14. Ain. I. pp. 304-47.
15. Vide 'C' and 'D', Section II, Chapter XI.

revenue from the local *qanungos* introduced by Muzaffar Khan Turbati and Todar Mal in the 11th regnal year/1566–67 was temporarily suspended by Shihabu-d-din Ahmad Khan in the 13th regnal year/1568-69. So by *zabt-i-har-sala*, Abu-l-Fazl has meant here the records or statistics of produce and revenue of every year and *nasaq* here means the use, for assessment in successive years, of same statistics of produce and revenue previously submitted by the local *qanungos*.[16]

Further, if we accept Moreland's reading then we are to state that the said reform in land revenue system was taken up in 1566 (early in the 11th regnal year), when Muzaffar Khan Turbati was the sole *wazir* and put into force in 1570-71 (during the 15th year) when Todar Mal was made joint *wazir* with the former. But this cannot be accepted because in narrating the Ranthambhor expedition in November 1569 (during the 14th regnal year), Abu-l-Fazl writes in the *Akbarnama* that Raja Todar Mal had the control of *wazirship*.[17] This indicates that Todar Mal was already serving as joint *wazir* with Muzaffar Khan Turbati in 1569.

Thus on the basis of the above discussion, it can be said that the said measure to assess the land revenue of the empire was adopted in 1566 (early in the 11th regnal year) when Todar Mal was made joint *wazir* with Muzaffar Khan Turbati. Dr. A. L. Srivastava indirectly supports our contention. He states : "These statements of area, produce and revenue (*taqsimat-ul-mulk*) from all the *parganas* of the territory under the direct control of the central government in 1567-71 were checked by ten superior *qanungos* employed by the revenue ministry under Muzaffar Khan and Todar Mal."[18]

16. For an elaborate discussion about the term *nasaq*, see Appendix IV.

17. A. N. II. p. 337.

18. *Akbar The Great*. II. p. 174.

What is the reason behind Abu-l-Fazl's depriving Raja Todar Mal of the credit of introducing the said reform jointly with Muzaffar Khan in the *Akbarnama* ?

In absence of any evidence we can only make tentative suggestions. It may be suggested that at the time of writing the *Akbarnama* Abu-l-Fazl was not aware of the fact that the said reform was introduced at the time when Raja Todar Mal was made *wazir* or revenue minister and actually began to conduct the revenue department jointly with Muzaffar Khan. But this does not seem to be quite convincing. Abu-l-Fazl had his account of the *Akbarnama* corrected by Akbar in his frequent interviews with the latter.[19] Further, it may be said that as the matter concerning the land revenue reforms was perhaps represented correctly, the emperor might have overlooked the mistake. Moreover, the possibility of making errors by the emperor cannot be wholly ruled out as it was practically impossible for a man to remember in details all the events of such a large empire. Our presumption is strengthened by the fact that although in his subsequent accounts in the *Akbarnama* Abu-l-Fazl has depicted Todar Mal as *wazir*, yet nowhere does he mention when the Raja was appointed to the post.

On the other hand, the author has attributed the credit both to Muzaffar Khan and Raja Todar Mal in the *Ain-i-Akbari*.[20] This is possible because the *Ain-i-Akbari* is, as Moreland suggests, "a collection of official papers contributed by the various administrative departments, edited by Abu-l-Fazl", and the information was perhaps in one of the said papers which "the editor did not reject".[21]

19. A. N. I. pp. 9, 10
20. Ain. I. p. 347.
21. A. S. M. I. p. 81.

APPENDIX II

Todar Mal's Bengal Campaign : Some Controversial Points

The accounts of the Mughal campaign in Bengal (from the seizure of Tanda to the Treaty of Cuttack) as given by the contemporary authors viz., Abu-l-Fazl, Nizamu-d-din, Badayuni, Ilahdad Faiz Sarhindi and Safdar 'Ali differ from one anther. Modern historians like R. D. Banerjee,[1] Acharya Jadunath Sarkar,[2] N. K. Bhattasali[3] and Dr. A. L. Srivastava[4] are silent on these differences. Of the modern historians Acharya Jadunath Sarkar comments as follows :

"Authorities : *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* Persian Text (best for topography, but requires severe correction) : *Akbarnama* (best for the battle). But Al Badayuni and *Ma'asir-i-Rahimi* have been rejected as merely copying the Tabaqat with all the copyists' errors."[5]

In order to assess the respective merits of the accounts of the contemporary authors it is necessary to ascertain the authenticity of their sources of information. Abu-l-Fazl, the official historian, states in the preface of the *Akbarnama* that he obtained the chronicle of events beginning at the 19th regnal year/11th March, 1574 to

1. *Bangalar Itihasa.* II. (1324 B. S /1917-18) pp. 376-78.
2. *Bengal Past and Present.* July-September, 1935. pp. 1-4.
3. Ibid. XXXVI. pp. 1-6.
4. *Akbar The Great,* I. pp. 188-89.
5. *Bengal Past and Present.* July-September, 1935. p. 4. In fairness to these distinguished scholars it has to be stated that R. D. Banerjee, Acharya Jadunath Sarkar and N. K. Bhattasali were unaware of the account of Safdar 'Ali as they wrote long before 1950 when it was discovered. But Dr. A. L. Srivastava's book, *Akbar The Great.* I, which was published in 1962. makes no mention of the account of Safdar 'Ali.

10th March, 1575, when the Records Office was established.[6] But it is evident from his account of events that the Records Office was established at the end of the 19th regnal year (sometime after the middle of January, 1575).[7] Generally he used to consult both originals and copies of imperial orders and the reports submitted by ministers and well-informed men, and when these were not sufficient enough on account of many contradictions and imperfections in them, he used to go frequently to the emperor and had his account corrected in such interviews.[8] Still the possibility of imperfections cannot be wholly ruled out as it was practically impossible for a person to remember all the events of such a vast empire.

Nizamu-d-din does not mention his sources of information regarding the events of Akbar's reign. It seems that his account of Akbar's reign is based on his personal knowledge supplemented by those of other contemporary persons.

Badayuni confesses that his work is the abridgement of that of Nizamu-d-din.[9] Still, "there is much more original matter in it than such a declaration would lead us to suppose, and the whole narrative, even when avowedly taken from his predecessors, is tinged with his peculiar prejudices."[10]

Ilahdad's account of Bihar and Bengal campaign is based on the information supplied by his patron, Shaikh Farid Bokhari, *bakhshi-ul-mulk*, who himself was a participant in the said campaign.[11]

Safdar 'Ali, the *mir munshi* of Todar Mal, states that when Todar Mal's army was besieged in the fort of Monghyr by the rebels of Bihar and Bengal led by Ma'sum Kabuli

6. A. N. I. pp. 9, 10.
7. Ibid. III. p. 118.
8. Ibid. I. p. 10.
9. M. T. I. pp. 7, 8.
10. Elliot. V. p. 479.
11. I. F. S. f. 1

and Mirza Sharafu-d-din, the Raja ordered Safdar 'Ali to prepare an account of the battles of Bihar, Bengal and Orissa (1574-1576). Safdar 'Ali, after labouring hard for three months, prepared his account on the basis of imperial *farmans* and the information supplied by the *mansabdars, sipahsalars* and *subahdars.*[12]

It is thus evident that the sources of each of the contemporary authors are not hundred per cent reliable. As each has his lacuna, it is difficult to follow any one of them in toto. We shall, therefore, try to reconstruct the account of Mughal campaign in Bengal on the basis of such information of each of the authors as seems to us consistent and reasonable. The main points of difference between the sources and our reconstruction and reasons for accepting and rejecting the portions of the accounts of each contemporary writer may be stated as follows :

(i) Safdar 'Alî states that when he was at some distance from Tanda, Mun'im Khan came to know that Daud Khan was fleeing towards Orissa. He then sent Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas in pursuit of Daud Khan. Barlas had to retreat after an unsuccessful encounter with Sarwandi Khan, one of Daud's lieutenants. Mun'im Khan thereupon sent Todar Mal in pursuit of Daud Khan. He also states that armies were despatched to Ghoraghat and Fathabad and Bogra.[13]

According to Nizamu-d-din, Badayuni and Ilahdad Faiz Sarhindi, some days after the capture of Tanda, Todar Mal was sent in pursuit of Daud Khan.[14] Ilahdad states that armies were also despatched to Ghoraghat, Fathabad and Bakla and Sonargaon[15] whereas Nizamu-d-din and Badayuni are silent about the despatch of troops towards Fathabad and Bakla and Sonargaon.

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12. S. A. Introduction.
13. Ibid. f. 3.
14. T. A. II. p. 302 ; M. T. II. pp. 191-92 ; I. F. S. f. 107 ;
15. I. F. S. f. 107.

Abu-l-Fazl, on the other hand, states that some days after the seizure of Tanda, Mun'im Khan sent armies to different quarters of Bengal in order to drive out the Afghans from those regions and establish Mughal authority. Accordingly an army comprising Muhammad Quli Khan Toqbai, Khwaja Abdullah, Niyabat Khan and others was sent towards Satgaon under the command of Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas in order that they might seize Daud'. Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas, after an unsuccessful bid to capture Daud Khan, settled himself at Satgaon. Detachments, according to Abu-l-Fazl, were also despatched to Ghoraght, Fathabad and Bakla and Sonargaon. When the establishment of Mughal authority over Bengal was thus arranged, there came the news of the appearance of Junaid Karrani, Daud's cousin, in Jharkhand. Mun'im Khan, therefore, sent Todar Mal along with Quli Khan, Nazr Bahadur, Abu-l-Qasim Namkin and others against Junaid.[16]

Safdar 'Ali's version can be reconciled with the accounts of others except Abu-l-Fazl. It supplements and is not in conflict with them. It seems that they were unaware of the despatch of Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas and his subsequent retreat. Safdar 'Ali's account that Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas went to Satgaon in pursuit of Daud Khan is also in agreement with that of Abu-l-Fazl. It seems that Abu-l-Fazl was misinformed about the time of the despatch of Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas and also unaware of the latter's retreat. Perhaps, his unawareness of the above mentioned facts led him to write that Todar Mal was sent against Junaid Karrani. But as all other authors agree that the Raja was deputed against Daud Khan and are silent about the deputation of Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas and also about his subsequent retreat, we have accepted Safdar 'Ali's version. The other portion of Abu-l-Fazl's account

16. A. N. III. pp. 118-21.

is acceptable to us as it is corroborated either fully or partly by others.

(ii) All the contemporary authors except Abu-l-Fazl and Badayuni state that marching from Tanda, Todar Mal reached Madaran (Garh Mandaran in Hooghly district) from where the Raja sought reinforcement. Mun'im Khan then sent an army under the leadership of Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas to Madaran.[17] Badayuni omits this portion.

Abu-l-Fazl, on the other hand, writes that when Daud Khan successfully evaded Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas, the latter settled himself at Satgaon and began to pass time with ease. He resumed his march against Daud Khan only when Todar Mal after driving Junaid came to Satgaon via Burdwan en route from Jharkhand and persuaded him to do so.[18]

This statement of Abu-l-Fazl, however, sounds inconsistent. It seems strange that such a loyal and disciplined officer as Raja Todar Mal, who was deputed against Junaid, would go to Satgaon instead of coming back to Tanda, the headquarters. Abu-l-Fazl does not mention whether the Raja was ordered to do so. Moreover, the author is silent about Mun'im Khan's knowledge of Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas' inaction. The version of all other authors, as mentioned above, has, therefore, been accepted.

(iii) Abu-l-Fazl states that Junaid appeared twice during Todar Mal's campaign against Duad Khan. On the first occasion he evaded a clash with the imperial army led by Todar Mal. The Raja then came to Burdwan from where he sent an army to Selimpur[19] to suppress the trouble-makers. The Mughal army successfully accomplished the task. At this time news

17. T. A. II. p. 303 ; I. F. S. f. 107 ; S. A. ff. 3, 4.
18. A. N. III. pp. 120-21.
19. Vide Section I. Chapter V.

came of Junaid's reappearance. Junaid was then returning to Jharkhand without being able to effect a junction with Daud Khan. Todar Mal sent an army which was routed by Junaid. Thereupon the Raja himself proceeded against Junaid who fled away to the jungles and hills of Jharkhand.[20]

Ilahdad also narrates the same thing. But Todar Mal and Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas, according to him, came from Madaran to Koliar (Colliah or Kolia) wherefrom the Raja encountered Junaid and despatched an army to Selimpur.[21]

But Nizamu-d-din, Badayuni and Safdar 'Ali, mention only one occasion. According to them, Todar Mal and his army encountered Junaid near Kolia when the latter was proceeding to meet Daud Khan.[22] Safdar 'Ali, of course, writes that Todar Mal sent Kishan Singh on hearing the defeat of the army led by Nazr Bahadur and Abu-l-Qasim Namkin and that after the fight Junaid and his followers joined, Daud Khan.[23]

It seems from the accounts of the contemporary writers that the meeting between Junaid and Daud Khan was a fact of which neither Nizamu-d-din nor Badayuni was aware. Further, the fight between Junaid and the Mughals also seems to have taken place when the former was returning from Daud's camp. Otherwise, he would have been present in the battle of Tukaroi which took place several weeks later. Again, as all the contemporary authors except Safdar 'Ali write that Todar Mal himself went against Junaid, we have accepted it.

(iv) Nizamu-d-din, Badayuni and Ilahdad state that marching from Kolia the Raja and Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas reached Midnapur where the latter died.[24]

20. A. N. III. pp. 119-20.
21. I. F. S. f. 107, 108.
22. T. A. II. pp. 303, 304; M, T. II. p. 193; S. A. f. 4.
23. S. A. f. 4.
24. T. A. II. p. 304; M. T. II. p. 193; I. F. S. f. 108.

Safdar 'Ali narrates the same thing but mentions Jalessar as the place of Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas' death.[25]

Abu-l-Fazl writes that Todar Mal and Muhammad Quli Khan, marching from Satgaon, arrived at Mandalpur where the latter died.[26]

Midnapur has been accepted as the place of Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas' death because Mandalpur, as mentioned by Abu-l-Fazl, cannot be identified. Jalessar, as mentioned by Safdar 'Ali, is also unacceptable as Daud was at that time at Garh Haripur which is nearer and on the way to Jalessar.

(v) Abu-l-Fazl and Safdar 'Ali state that resuming his march at Burdwan Todar Mal came to Citua (Chitwa or Cheto Barda).[27] Nizamu-d-din mentions the place as Jitura, Badayuni as Brochin, Ilahdad as Bahturah.[28]

As Abu-l-Fazl, the official historian, is supported by Safdar 'Ali, we have accepted Citua which still exists (Cheto Barda) as the halting place of Todar Mal's army rejecting Jitura, Brochin and Bahturah mentioned respectively by Nizamu-d-din, Badayuni and Ilahdad.

(vi) Nizamu-d-din and Ilahdad state that the battle between the Mughals and the Afghans took place on 20th *Zil-hizza*/2nd February, 1575.[29]

But all the other authors mention 20th *Zil-qadah*/3rd March, 1575 as the date of the battle.[30]

The date 20th *Zil-qadah* (of the battle of Tukaroi), as mentioned by most of the authors viz., Abu-l-Fazl, the official historian, Safdar 'Ali who had consulted some of the official documents and Badayuni, seems to us to be correct.

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25. S. A. f. 5.
26. A. N. III. pp. 120-21
27. Ibid. p. 121 ; S. A. f. 5.
28. T. A. II. p. 304 ; M. T. II. p. 193 ; I. F. S. f. 108.
29. T. A. II. p. 305 ; I. F. S. f. 108.
30. A. N. III. p. 122 ; M. T. II. p. 194 ; S. A. f. 5.

(vii) Abu-l-Fazl and Ilahdad state that Todar Mal was opposed to making peace with Daud Khan and wisely refused to sign the Treaty of Cuttack. According to these authors, the Treaty was signed by Mun'im Khan on 1st *Muharram*, 983H/12th April, 1575.[31]

Safdar 'Ali, on the other hand, writes that after consulting Todar Mal, Mun'im Khan made peace with Daud Khan and that the Treaty was signed on 17th *Muharram*, 983H/28th April, 1575.[32] But Nizamu-d-din and Badayuni are silent on these points.

Abu-l-Fazl's version seems to be acceptable due to the following reasons: That from the 20th regnal year onwards Abu-l-Fazl's account is based mostly on official documents and the said events took place in the 20th regnal year. Secondly, Abu-l-Fazl's statement is wholly corroborated by Ilahdad Faiz Sarhindi. It is not clear from Safdar 'Ali's account whether the Raja gave consent or was opposed to making peace. Moreover, Safdar 'Ali's version, on the other hand, is supported by none.

(viii) As regards the terms of the Treaty of Cuttack, Abu-l-Fazl states that Daud Khan was allowed to retain some parts of Orissa[33] whereas, according to all others except Badayuni, Orissa was given to Daud Khan.[34] Badayuni is not clear on this particular point. There is unanimity regarding the other terms of the Treaty.

Abu-l-Fazl gives a detailed account of the terms of the Treaty and his account is based on official document. His subsequent account is also in more detail and consistent. He states that after the death of Mun'im Khan, Daud Khan again declared independence and recaptured Bhadrak and Jalessar. If Daud Khan was given the whole of Orissa, there was no necessity to

31. A. N. III. pp. 131-32 ; I. F. S. f. 109.
32. S. A. f. 13.
33. A. N. III. p. 131.
34. T. II. p. 309 ; I. F. S. f. 112 ; S. A. f. 7.

capture these two portions of Orissa. Moreover, some parts of Orissa were still under the possession of Raja Mukunda Deva. It is thus evident that Daud Khan was allowed to retain only some parts and not given the whole of Orissa. On the other hand, the accounts of Nizamu-d-din, Badayuni, Ilahdad and Safdar 'Ali are very brief and do not mention all the terms of peace. Their subsequent accounts of the conflict between Daud Khan and the Mughals are also very brief. That is why we have accepted Abu-l-Fazl's version.

APPENDIX III

A Comparative Study of the Two Versions of Todar Mal's Twelve Regulations

There are two versions of the Revenue Regulations of Raja Todar Mal. One is contained in a MS of the *Akbarnama* in the British Museum.[1] The other is the Persian text of the *Akbarnama* as published by A. S. B.[2] The differences between the British Museum MS and the printed edition of A. S. B. were long ago pointed out by Rieu.[3] But the difference between the two versions of Todar Mal's Regulations has been first recorded by Dr. Irfan Habib.[4] He describes the former to be the original Memorandum submitted by Todar Mal and the latter as the final version.[5]

As regards Todar Mal's Regulations contained in the said MS, Dr. Habib writes: "In the present MS the entire text of the original Memorandum on Revenue

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1. Add 27, 247. ff. 331b-332b.
2. A. N. III. pp. 381-83.
3. *Catalogue of the Persian MSS in the British Museum.* I. p. 248.
4. *The Agrarian System of Mughal India.* p. 418. On finding this information Dr. Habib was contacted through Dr. J. N. Sarkar, by the present author. Dr. Habib then sent a transcribed copy of Todar Mal's Regulations along with his observations about the MS in general and his comments regarding Todar Mal's Regulations. Dr. Habib remarks about the said MS: "The text of the MS differs throughout from the final version, being at times less polished and at times inserting or omitting details. Thus under the 24th year, it names all the twelve provinces to which new provincial officials were appointed (f. 304a). This detail is missing in the corresponding passage in the Bib. Ind. text (III 282). But the latter is much more detailed in respect of the *jama'-i dah-sala* described in the very next passage". The cover leaf of the transcribed copy of *Todar Mal's Twelve Regulations.*
5. Ibid.

Administration, submitted in the 27th year, has been copied verbatim, along with Akbar's remarks on each of its articles. In his final version, Abu-l-Fazl paraphrased Todar Mal's text in more literary language, and practically omitted Akbar's observations".[6]

But it seems from a study of the two versions that the Persian text (A. S. B.) or "the final version" is not a mere paraphrase of Todar Mal's text i. e., "original Memorandum". If it were so, it would have obviously contained no such information excluded in the "original Memorandum". But there are certain important points or facts in the Persian text or the "final version" which are not contained by the said MS of the British Museum. This leads us to hold that the version contained in the British Museum MS is not the "original Memorandum" as submitted by Todar Mal. The major points of difference between the two versions are the following.

The text of the paragraph preceding the Regulations contained in the MS specifically mentions the number of the Regulations and the date of their approval which we do not find in that of the printed text. The printed text gives the very important information that the Raja, "who understood the secrets of administration, was appointed to the lofty office of head of the *diwan (ashraf-i-diwan)* and virtually the position of *vakil* (prime minister) was conferred on him." Moreover, it makes several highly laudatory reflections on Todar Mal's character. All these naturally do not find place in the text of the said MS.[7]

Articles I and II of the MS have used the terms *'amil* or *karori* for the collector while it is *'amalguzar* in those of the printed text. Article I of the MS is much more detailed than its counterpart in the printed edition.

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6. The cover leaf of the transcribed copy of the *Todar Mal's Twelve Regulations.*

7. Add 27, 247. f. 331b. A. N. III. p. 381.

According to article II of the MS the writers (*karkun* and *khasnavis*) in league with the *chaudhuris, qanungos, muqaddams* and *kalantars* made exorbitant demands, as explained below. But article II of the printed text does not mention all these categories of officials. It states that the writers in conjunctions with only the *kalantars* used to oppress the peasantry. Moreover, the latter does not carry the imperial order as is contained in the MS.

Article III of the MS mentions two of the four classes of land by name (*polaj* and *banjar*). These are, however, not mentioned in the printed text. The latter states that taking bonds from known persons instead of *muqaddams*, as stated by the MS, loans should be given to the destitute cultivators. It states in addition that giving securities to one another (they) should execute documents. It seems that the system of *kabuliat* and *patta* was in vogue. *Kabuliat* is a document through which the cultivator promised to discharge all his responsibilities to the government. *Patta* is a document recording the cultivator's rights, as given by the government. The printed text carries another information: "When the collectors increased the (total) rental, demands should not be made (from them) about deficiencies in some items". Further, it enjoins that report be submitted about the collectors (perhaps by the officials of the central revenue department) to His Majesty every year so that the good ones "might be rewarded and promoted and those who were of another sort be punished." This instruction, which finds place in article III of the printed text, is, however, noted in article IV of the MS.

The number of the measurement-parties, as given in the article IV of the MS, does not find place in that of the printed text. The number varies according to "the amount of land" in the latter but on "*jama'* of the *pargana*" in the MS. Although lacking in many details the printed text states in addition that the measurement should be conducted "in an intelligent manner and the

quality and produce of every land be noticed." According to this article of the MS, in a good year, when there will be sufficient rain, 1½ to 2 *biswas* instead of up to 3 *biswas*, as contained in the printed text, per *bigha* of lands which retain water and are in good state, should be left unassessed for the benefit of the peasantry. The imperial order regarding this article, given in the British Museum MS, does not find place in the printed version.

Article V of both the versions relates to damage and the relief to be given thereof although the printed one lacks in details recorded in the MS.

Article VI of the two versions instructs the *sipahsalar*, the *faujdar*, the *jagirdar* and the collector to chastise the rebels and evil-doers who do not pay taxes but inflict damages upon the peasants. But the printed text carries the additional information that 'if the soldiers would be injured on these operations, a fine should be levied'. The latter, of course, does not contain the imperial order as given in the MS.

In article VII we find a very important variation. The text of the MS states: "The *fotadar* and the *karori*, according to the *sanad*, will divide (collection) every year into four parts and send three parts (to the head office) and keep (for their use) the remaining 4th part after the collection of the dues from the cultivators in the *mahals*". On the other hand, "the collector" according to the printed edition, "should be paid their wages quarterly, the last payment being made when there were no arrears due from the ryots." The imperial order contained in the MS does not also find place in the latter.

Article VIII in both the versions instructs (the collector) to create such an atmosphere as to encourage the peasants themselves to deposit the taxes. But the printed text is silent as to how taxes should be recovered from the rebels and evil-doers and makes no reference to the imperial order as well.

Article IX of both the versions prescribes the preparation of the list of cultivated lands and of cultivators and to send the same, counter-signed by the *patwaris* and *muqaddams*, to the headquarters. But the printed edition carries the additional information that "the date (of collection) should neither be postponed nor anticipated" although it omits several points contained in the MS.

Articles X of both the versions is essentially same. But the text of the MS mentions the value of various coins in (*muradi*) *tankah* instead of *dam* as given in the printed edition. It seems from a comparative study of the two that the (*muradi*) *tankah* was double the worth of the *dam* e. g, the MS states that *La'l-i-Jalali* of standard weight is worth 200 (*muradi*) *tankah*, whereas the value of the same, according to the printed text, should be 400 *dams*.[8] The printed text does not contain the imperial order carried by the said MS.

Article XI of the two versions is practically same although the text of the MS mentions the officers by their designations and is in detail.

Article XII of both the versions differs considerably. The printed text contains two very important pieces of information which do not find place in that of the MS. These are the introduction of a new rate for measurement fee which is one *dam* per *bigha* and the minimum amount of land to be measured in one day at different seasons. The text of the MS mentions the fee for the measurement-party in (*muradi*) *tankah* instead of *dam* given by the printed one. Again, it uses the term *zabitan* instead of *paimayan*, given by the printed text, for the measurement-party. There are also differences in the proportion of both cash and goods to be given to the measurement-party as a whole and to each of the constituents of the measurement-party.

8. For an elaborate discussion about the *muradi tankah* and its relation to *dam* see Hodivala's article in the Numismatic Supplement (A. S. B.) No. XXVIII.

This article in the text of the MS seems to be very corrupt. It states that the *zabitan* will be given 10 (*muradi*) *tankah* which is equal to 20 *dams*, instead of 24 *dams* mentioned in the printed version. After , narrating the amount of articles and cash to be given to various persons comprising the measurement-party it repeats that 10 *tankah* is settled as allowance. But the last sentence of this article states that 12 (*muradi*) *tankah* (equivalent to 24 *dams* as mentioned by the printed text) should be given to the *zabitan*. It, therefore, appears that the copyist has mistakenly mentioned *dah* or 10 instead of *dwajdah* or 12.

The following is the English translation of both the versions of Todar Mal's Twelve Regulations :-[9]

Add 27, 247 British Museum MS

In the beginning of this auspicious year Raja Todar Mal, who understood the affairs of the *diwani* and knew the details of the art relating to *abadani* (cultivation) of the kingdom, became the renowned servant of the empire. He was ordered to make important regulations regarding the crownland. He, whose heart was confined in the frontiers (for military operation), was taken from there and recommended for this great work. And he (Todar Mal), in accordance

Printed A. S. B Text

In the beginning of this auspicous year the world's *Khedive* gave some attention to the arrangements of the affairs of the empire, and bestowed new lusture on administrative and financial regulations. Before this, the duties of *wazirship* had been entrusted to Raja Todar Mal, but on account of the perils of the great enterprise, and the activity of double-faced, ten-tongued persons, he had not applied himself heartily to it. This far-sighted and incorruptible

9. The English translation of the text of the MS is made by the present author. As regards that of the printed text, the English translation of the A. N. made by Mr. H. Beveridge has been followed with a few exceptions.

with his knowledge which he obtained from the grace of the service of His Highness, separated the existing rules charterwise and in order to increase attention made anew the obligatory rules consisting of 12 sections and presented them before the Holy (King) through the royal court for approval. On the day of *Za'i* 23rd *Isfandar Ilahi* month corresponding to 7th day of the month of *Safar* (these) were distinguished with honourable approval.[10] And the working of the crownlands etc., and above mentioned sections are detailed in this way.

man, who understood the secrets of administration, was appointed to the lofty office of head of the *diwan (ashraf-i-diwan)* and virtually the position of *vakil* (prime minister) was conferred on him. Everything was referred to him, and a choice ordering of administrative and financial matters was the result. By the blessing of a happy fate he sullied not the skirt of wish, but regarded what was good for the state, and acquired an everlasting good name. With a stout heart he maintained the laws of the Caliphate, and had no fear of the powerful and crafty. From farsightedness and knowledge of the world, he proposed several regulations (*fasle*) so that the holy orders might be promulgated anew, and have fresh vigour. For better

10. The MS has *dal* denoting Wednesday. But the corresponding Hijri date the 7th *Safar* falls on Saturday. The alphabet Za'i denotes 7 in Arithmetic and Saturday. It seems that the copyist has mistakenly written *dal* instead of Za'i. This date corresponds to 3rd March, 1582 and falls in the 26th regnal year (11th March, 1581—10th March 1582) of Akbar although Abu-l-Fazl has mentioned the Regulations in the account of 27th regnal (11th March, 1582—10th March, 1583). On the basis of the information supplied by the British Museum MS the view that Todar Mal formulated the Twelve Regulations in the 27th regnal year should now be corrected.

enlightenment I proceed to record them, and so present a boon to posterity.

Article—I

The *'amils* of the crown-land and *jagirdar* are ordered to recover *mal* (revenue) and *jihat* (taxes on manufactures) according to *dastur-ul-'amal* without causing any trouble to the condition of the *ri'aya* (cultivators). If occasionally the materials of *malba*[11] and *ikhrajat*[12] become excessive, the condition of the cultivators will be examined on the basis of the information supplied by *zabitan* and *tahsildars*. Each of their (collectors') treacherous possessions should be shown face to face in the monthly accounts and be reckoned part by part in favour of the cultivators. They will thus be suitably chastised for their wrongs. Whoever will not try to work

Article—I

The collectors (*'amalguzaran*) of the crownlands (*khalsa*) and the *jagirdars* should collect the rents and taxes (*mal wa jihat*) in accordance with the code (*dastur-ul-'amal*). If from wickedness and tyranny they took from the cultivators more than the agreement, it was to be reckoned as the legitimate rent, and the oppressors were to be fined, and the amount entered in the monthly accounts. They should at every harvest inquire into the minutest details (or they were to fully acquaint themselves with every section) and protect the subjects. The thread of the administration of justice was to be a double one, (that is) suppliants were

11. It means all payments except land revenue from the village fund and so includes the perquisites of the various officials and the village expenses. Wilson. p. 324.

12. The exactions and perquisites apart from the *jama'* appropriated by officials personally and by *zamindars* are commonly known as *ikhrājat*. Wilson. p. 215; I. Habib. p. 243 and n6.

according to this rule will be reprimanded when this will be represented to His Highness.

When a work is entrusted to a person concerned, it is his duty to execute it. As I know that he had earned distinction in understanding the matters of *diwani* rightly and correctly, so it was ordered to appoint him for supervision. First, he would notify the rules of the state to the people. Secondly, he will follow the conditions of the people. Those, who, due to unfortunate greed, will go against the orders and oppress the cultivators, should be properly punished so as to give lesson to the remaining ones of little intelligence.[13]

to be reimbursed and extortioners to be punished.

Article—II

The *karoris* and *'amils*[14] of crownlands had two writers—one named as *karkun* and the other as *khasnavis*. They, in league with the

Article—II

The collectors of the crownlands had two clerks (*bitikchi*)—a *karkun* and a *khasnavis*. Generally, both of these men were corrupt,

13. The printed text states in addition: "The thread of the administration of justice was to be a double one (that is) suppliants were to be reimbursed and extortioners to be punished".

14. The simultaneous use of these two terms suggests that they were synonymous.

chaudhuris, qanungos, muqaddams and *kalantars* caused excess in *ikhrajat* in every *mauza*'. If in place of these two greedy writers, a truly reliable man be entrusted with the pen, undoubtedly the *ikhrajat* will not be excessive like this and the cultivators will remain in a state of tranquility.

It is the order of His Highness that one should keep in mind that to entrust one work to two persons and two works to one person is to go beyond the rules of justice. Those two greedy persons should be driven out and a reliable and right-thinking man be appointed in their place.

and in collusion with the village-headman (*kalantaran*) and they oppressed the peasantry. If in place of these two dishonest men, one trustworthy and rightly-acting officer were appointed, the country would be developed, and the peasant would be at peace.

Article—III

It is understood that the (cultivated) lands (*arazi*) was decreasing year by year. Fixing a place and time the (cultivated) lands of every *pargana* should once be recorded completely and perfectly and increasing (it) year by year in accordance with the conditions of the

Article—III

It appeared that in the crown-*parganas* the cultivated lands diminished year by year. If once the cultivated lands were measured, increasing it year by year in proportion to the ability of the peasantry a partial *nasaq*[15] should be established, and giving securi-

15. The MS has only *nasaq*. For an explanation of this term see Appendix IV.

cultivators a *nasaq* should be established, and taking receipt from the *muqaddams* the revenue should be recovered in this way.

In the case of lands, which remain fallow for 3 or 4 years, one-half (½) of the fixed revenue in the 1st year, one-fourth (¼) less (of the fixed revenue) in the 2nd year and in the 3rd year according to *polaj* should be taken. For lands which are kept fallow for two years, in the 1st year one-fourth (¼) less and in other years according to 'the schedule of *polaj* should be taken. For *banjar* land the crop of one *biswa* per *bigha* is ordered to be taken.[17]

If the conditions of the cultivators become very bad and they have no seed and cow, give them *taqavi* loan on receipt of bonds from the *muqaddams* ties to one another (they) should execute documents.[16] Consideration should be shown in the exaction of dues. In the case of land which had lain fallow for four years, only half of the stipulated rent should be taken for the first year, three-fourths in the second, and in the third the peasants should be responsible for the full rent. For land which had been unculivated for two years, one-fourth of the rent should be deducted for the first year. In the case of uncultivated lands they were to be allowed to keep back a small amount of grain so that their lands might become capable of yielding rent. If destitute cultivators were assisted (by advances), documents should be taken from known men, and recoveries made, partly at the spring-harvest, and

16. Here we have changed Mr. Beveridge's translation. Mr. Beveridge writes : "If the cultivable land were measured once for all, the peasantry would cultivate more and more land in proportion to their ability and the arrangement of progressive payments should be made. They should give one another as securities and should execute documents". A. N. III. Eng. Tr. p. 562.

17. In case of the *banjar* or uncultivated land the printed version prescribes to take a small amount as revenue while the MS asks to take 1/20th of the crop per *bigha*.

so that it can be recovered every time. At the *khartf* (autumn harvest) recover suitably (or according to the capability of the loanee) and the remainder in the time of *rabi* (spring harvest). And the *dastur-i-'amal* should be shown in this way year by year. When it is increased year by year, it will give no trouble to the peasants.

Article—IV

When the crops are standing, the *mutasaddis* will necessarily appoint 5 or 10 *tanab* (measuring parties) in accordance with the *jama'* of the *pargana* and themselves would go and inspect the *mauza'* and its surroundings. More or less knowing truly (they) will record faithfully whether the land is one-cropped or two and visit every *mauza'* where there is a decrease and find partly at the autumn harvest so that the country might soon be cultivated, the peasantry satisfied, and the treasury replenished. When the collectors increased the (total) rental, demands should not be made (from them) about deficiencies in some items. Every year reports about the collectors should be submitted to H. M. in order that good servants might be rewarded and promoted and those who were of another sort, punished.

Article—IV

When the crops are standing, let several measuring parties (*tanab*) be appointed, in proportion to the amount of land, and let the measurement be started in an intelligent manner and the quality and produce of every land[18] be noticed. The collector will choose a central spot for himself, and carefully visit every part of the land and examine its condition.

18. Mr. Beveridge writes: "the kind and quality of the cultivation be noticed". But as the Persian text has *kār-i-har jamin* we have made this slight change.

out the cause of it. If the cultivators emigrate or are without ability, this is due to two reasons, one is the torture of the *karori* and the other is the oppression of *chaudhuris* and *muqaddams*. Following this state (they) will work in such a way so that the land can again be cultivated and the loss be compensated.[21] Recording the real state of things face to face they will send (it) to the head office of His Highness so that the petition can reach (the emperor) and good wishes and shortcomings of the *'amils* be revealed.[22]

In a good year when the rain will be sufficient on account of the blessings of God and in *parganas* whose lands retain water and are in good state, one and a half ($1\frac{1}{2}$) to two (2)

When there has been an abundant rain and the fields retain water,[19] an amount of land up to two and a half *biswas* should be left out of account, and in jungle and sandy tracts as much as three *biswas*. The recorded inventories[20] should be sent in weekly and the daily journal of collections month by month to the head office.

19. Mr. Beveridge's translation has "the fields are lying in water". But as the Persian text has *jaminhā ab nashin gardad* we have made the above change.

20. Here also we have departed from Mr. Beveridge's translation which has "abstract account", as the Persian text has *siyaya zabt*.

21. The information regarding emigration and disability of cultivators to cultivate land and the cause thereof does not find place in the printed text.

22. The instruction to submit report about the collectors has found place in article III of the printed version.

biswas should be left as allowance and in case of the adjacent jungles and sandy tracts two and a half ($2\frac{1}{2}$) to three (3) *biswas* should be given as allowance for the convenience of the cultivators. With this end in view day by day (the lands) will be increasingly cultivated and populated. The recorded inventories should be sent weekly and daily ledger of collection month by month to the head office.

And this was ordered by His Highness that in the good year (in case of) the countries which retain water, one and a half ($1\frac{1}{2}$) biswas and in case of sandy tracts two and a half ($2\frac{1}{2}$) to three (3) *biswas nobud* (left unassessed) should be declared and the recorded inventories should be sent weekly and the daily journal of collection month by month to the head office.

Article—V

God forbid: if any heavenly or worldly danger appears in a *mauza'*, the *karori* will reach from every part of the *pargana* and

Article—V

An imperial order should be issued that a list of damaged lands should be sent to court so that orders might be passed concerning them.

recording part by part will send invoices including the petition to the court of World Protector. Whether it is proper or improper an *amin* should be appointed; otherwise, he will have to depend upon the works of important *mutasaddis*.

Article—VI

The rebels, who take shelter (dwell) in jungles, forts and ditches, do not pay taxes timely, rather, inflict damage and loss upon the peasants of a *mauza'* and its surroundings. The *jagirdars* and the *karori* of every *subah* and every *pargana* will give protection to the cultivators and chastise those rebels and trouble-makers who are engaged in damaging the condition of the cultivators. Secondly, (they) will search out what loss has been suffered by the cultivators and give them indemnity. The rebels should be asked to behave properly, otherwise, the *faujdar*, the *jagirdar* and the *karori* will cut down the jungles, destroy the forts and ditches and plunder the crop of the rebels. If it is jagirdar, one

Article—VI

The dwellers in ravines, who are of a turbulent disposition, think the ruggedness of their country a protection and make long the arm of oppression. Orders should be issued to the Viceregent (*sipahsalar*) the *faujdar*, the *jagirdar* and to the collector that they should act together and remedy matters. First, they should admonish, and if this proves ineffectual, they should raise the flag of activity and chastise the malefactors, and devastate their crops (*abadi*, perhaps, habitations). The *jagirdars* should get an exchange and the *mustaufi* should not make a demand on this account. If the soldiers should be injured in these operations, a fine should be levied (*tawan*).

part of the *diwanian* (government revenue) will be shown in accordance with the *jama'* (which is) equivalent to (his) salary and if it is *khalsa*, put it under the *karori*, and the *mustaufis* will see that he will not get less pay. Every body, who will protect the thieves and the rebels, will be punished. *Farman* is decreed that the *mustaufis* shall show no recovery from the *mauza'* of the rebels which had been destroyed.

Article-VII

Whatever is collected from the cultivators be deposited face to face to the *fotadar* and the latter will give receipt of collection of the principal and surcharge. If the receipts are not given to the cultivators, next time whatever the cultivators will state the negation of that cannot be heard from the *karori* and *fotadar*. The *fotadar* and *karori*, according to the *sanad*, will divide (collection) every year into four parts and send three

Article-VII

The sums extorted from the peasantry are to be produced before the treasurer and he is to give credit for them in the ryots' receipts. The collectors should be paid their wages quarterly, the last payment being made when there are no arrears due from the ryots.[23]

23. According to the printed text this paragraph belongs to Article VII. A. N. III. p. 382. But Mr. Beveridge writes 'Further' instead of VII.

parts (to the head office) and will keep (for their use) one part which is $\frac{1}{4}$th after the collection of the dues from the cultivators in the *mahals* and the *fotadar* will send the receipt. The order of the *Ashraf* is like this.

Article-VIII

In case of the cultivators of the trusted *mauza'* who conform in speech and work, the *'amils* should fix a period so that they (the cultivators) might themselves come to the *fotakhana* (treasury) within the mentioned period, deposit their share (of revenue) and obtain the receipt. There is no need of a *tahsildar.* In case of rebels and evil-doers *zamins* (bonds) should be taken and very slowly and cautiously (their) grains should be deposited in heaps. Whatever be the taxes (*malwajibi*) and *diwanians* (fees due to government) should be recovered by selling the grains and the remainder be returned to the cultivators. Writing in details about the *ri'aya* and rebels of every *sar(kar), pargana* and *mauza'* of the crown lands, report should

Article-VIII

The ryots should be in such a state of odedience that they should bring their rents to the treasury without its being necessary to set guards over them. Sufficient security should be taken from the refractory, and if such cannot be found, watchmen should be set over the harvested grain and the rent be realized.

be sent to the court so that every order given to the *'amil* by His Highness be carried in accordance with possible justice.

Article-IX

Pargana and villagewise detailed and distinct description of the cultivated lands of the *mahals* where the grains are being reaped should be sent and the *patwari* of every *mauza'* will send the name of the sowers, name by name. The *'amils* will sign over the descriptive list of the crop and taking approval from the *patwaris* and *muqaddams* will show the recovery of the amount and send it to the treasury. The treasurer will give receipt to the cultivators. If it is known that the *karkun* and the *fotadar* (treasurer) do not give the

Article-IX

An account of the rent to be collected from each person according to the amount of his cultivation should be prepared, and the date should neither be postponed nor anticipated. The *patwari* of each village should allot these, name by name, among his subordinates. The collectors should send the cash along with the *patwari's* signature to the treasurer. They should be vigilant to put down oppression, and should make their words and their works accord.[24]

24. The printed version gives the additional information that "the date (of collection) should neither be postponed nor anticipated" although it omits much information contained in the MS. Further, according to the Persian text, this belongs to article IX; but Mr. Beveridge has included it in article VIII. Accordingly, articles X, XI and XII have become articles IX, X and XI respectively in Mr. Beveridge's translation and it thus leads us to hold that the total number of Todar Mal's regulations was eleven (11).

receipt and the cultivators do not get hold of it, whoever might be at fault that will fall upon the *'amils*. Secondly, if the cultivators complained, the words of the *'amils* will not be heard. The *diwanians* and *mustaufis* will believe and accept the original rough records or accounts (*kham-i-khagoz*) of the *patwari*. They should be cautious of armed personnel who used to prevent the cultivators from accepting the descriptive list or rentroll etc.

Showing distinctly the collected and uncollected in the list (they) will work in such a way that nobody is oppressed and the evil-doers and the rebels cannot show the collection taking more than the standard and keep their own share by transferring (the revenue demand due to them) to the small peasants. The meaning of all this introduction is that the *thalba* and *ikhrajat* go astray. The welfare of of the cultivators is in this : Everybody will work according to this order and finding out the reality the *karori* will send a petition so that

whatever may be the order will be the order of *Jahanmuta* (the emperor) and the *'amils* will work according to this petition.

Article-X

When *ashrafi* and *rupiya* and *muradi* whatever is minted, the *mutasaddis* of the important mints, showing the *jama'* (revenue or collection) face to face to the master of *tahvil* (treasury) will recover, in exchange of them, *sikka sanwat rupiya* and *jalali* so that the *karori* and *fotadar* and *saraff* (money changer) may substitute them because of the difference between the new and old (coins). It is ordered that *ashrafi* etc., will be taken and given according to the following :

The *La'l-i-Jalali* and the gold of standard weight are worth 200 *tankah* ; the square *Jalali rupiya* is worth 20 *tankah*. The *Akbarshahi ashrafi* and *rupiya* are converted in this way : If the coins are few years old, the

Article-X

The treasurer should receive *muhrs*, rupees and *dams* which bear the august name (of Akbar) and make allowance for obsolete coins so that the collectors and the money-changers may reckon the old and new and ascertain the difference. The *La'l Jalali*, of full weight and fineness, is worth 400 *dams*, the square rupee is worth 40 *dams*. The ordinary *ashrafi*, and the round *Akbarshahi* rupee which has become worn, shall be rated as follows :

If the *ashrafi* be deficient by two grains of rice *(birinj)*, but be of good quality, it should be valued at 360 *dams*. If deficient by three grains upto one *surkh* its value should be 355 *dams*. If deficient by 1 to 1½ *surkhs*[25] its value is 350

25. The text has *yak surkh ta yak wa nim surkh*. A. N. III. p 383. Elliot has correctly rendered it as "if deficient from a *surkh* to a *surkh* and a half". Elliot. VI. p. 65. But Mr. Beveridge has mistakenly rendered it 1½ to 2 *surkhs*. A. N. III. Eng. Tr. p. 565.

ashrafi of full weight or deficient by two or three *birinj* (grains of rice) is worth 180 *tankah* and if deficient by 3 *birinj* to 1 *surkh* (small red and black seed of *arbus pracatoris* or one-eighth of *masha*) its value will be 177 *tankah* and 1 *dam*. If it be deficient by *surkh to* 1½ *surkhs* it is worth 175 *tankah* and 1 *dam*, the *rupiya* of full weight or deficient by 1 *surkh* is worth 19 *tankah* and 1 *dam* and if deficient by 1½ to 2 *surkhs* its value will be 19 *tankah*.

It is hoped that the desire (petition)· becomes true. The *jagirdar*, the *karori* and the *fotadar* will channelise (give) the share of the taxes to the cultivators and in this way collect the rents (*khajana*).

Whenever the *La'l-i-Jalali* is of standard weight and the *Jalali* deficient by 1½ to 2 *surkhs* and *sikka sanwat Akbarshahi* deficient by 3 *birinj* or 1 *surkh* they are to be received as original (*asal*) by the treasury. Whatever is more or less (in weight), the *tahvildar* (cashier) should keep them separate and the accountant (*mushrif*) *dams*. A rupee deficient by one *surkh* of the full weight should be valued at 39 *dams*. If deficient by 1½ to 2 *surkhs* it should be valued at 38 *dams*: The *La'l Jalali* of full weight and fineness, the *Jalali* deficient from 1½ to 2 *surkhs* and *sikka sanwat Akbarshahi* deficient by 3 *birinj* up to one *surkh* were to be received at the treasury. If the deficiency were greater, the *tahvildar* (cashier) should keep the coins separate and the accountant should enter them in the day-book and send an account of them daily to the head-office. The *jagirdars*, treasurers and *saraffs* (money-changers) were to act upon these rules.

will enter them in details in the daily-ledger as *jama'* and send them daily to the headquarters. The money-changers (*saraff*) will also mention the value and the transaction will reveal the original difference. And after this any one who will work against this order and show excess, this will reach, after investigation, His Highness for consideration, who will give whatever be the order.

It is ordered by His Highness *Jahanmuta* that the rate of *rupiya* and *ashrafi* will be determined according to the rules. And whatever *rupiya* is old, first of all, it will be shown and the full (*purah*) *rupiya* should be recorded and the money changers will work according to these details. If he is against it, he will be brought to book.

Article-XI

A report about the *chaudhuris*, *qanungos* and *muqaddams* who are well-wishers of the state and whose intention is to look after the interest of cultivation and the cultivators and also about the stiff-necked and evil-doers

Article-XI

The officers of the *khalsa* and the *jagirdars* should make correct reports about the well-conducted, and the ill-conducted, the obedient, and the disobedient, in their estates so that recompense and retribution may be

who are the causes of trouble and difficulty should be written name by name and sent to the headquarters so that the *diwanians* (officials of the *diwan*) can put it before His Highness and so that those who have shown their good intention and worked for the welfare of the cultivators and increased the revenue of the government, can be honoured and the rebels, after investigation, will be kept in chastisement. Thus happiness occurs.

bestowed and the thread of government be strengthened.

Article-XII

It is understood that the measuring party (*zabitan*) will get 10 *tankah-i-muradi* from the total *bahluli tankah*. This is ordered :

	sir	*tankah*
Flour	15	1 ?
Grain	12	2
Ghee (*roghan zard*)	1¾	2
Cash		6

Of this the *amin* will get :

	sir	*tankah*
Flour	5	
Ghee	1¼	
Grain	7	
Cash		2

Article-XII

Instead of the old charges, one *dam* per *bigha* of cultivation should be fixed. It is hoped that by this arrangement 24 dams would be allowed to the measurement party. Their allowances would thus be :

15 *sirs* flour at the price of	7	*dams*
1¾ *sirs* butter (*roghan zard*, presumably *ghee*)	5	,,
2½ *sirs* grain (for animals)	4	,,
Cash	8	,,
	24	*dams*

The writer, the *gumasta* (agent) and *karkun* will get :

	sir	*tankah*
Flour	4	
Ghee	1¼	
Grain	5	
Cash		2

The *tanab-kishan* (consists of 2 servants) will get :

	sir	*tankah*
Flour	6	
Ghee	¾	
Cash		2

10 (ten) *tankah* is thus settled as allowance. An important vice of this party is that they may show their greediness over the cultivators. On the day of measurement, acknowledging the measurement of every *tanab* of cultivated land, 12 *tankah* should be given to this party as *inam* from total *bahluli jama'* in the *fotakhana*.

Of this the *amin* would get :

	sir	*dam*
Flour	5	
Butter	½	
Grain	7	
Cash		4

The writer would get :

	sir	*dams*
Flour	4	
Butter	½	
Grain	5½	
Cash		2

Three servants would get :

	sir	*dams*
Flour	6	
Butter	¾	
Cash		3

In the time of *rabi* crop when the days are long, not less then 250 *bighas* should be measured and in the time of the *kharif* when the days are short, not less than 200 *bighas*.

H. M. (i. e., His Majesty) examined these proposals with a profound eye, and accepted them.

APPENDIX IV

Interpretation of the term Nasaq

The term *nasaq* has been interpreted differently by the scholars. The difference of views was caused by the use of the term in different contexts by Abu-l-Fazl in the *Akbarnama* and *Ain-i-Akbari*.[1] The following are the views in a nutshell put forward by different scholars. Commenting on the *Ain-i-Akbari* Najaf 'Ali Khan means it as 'revenue farming'.[2] Blochmann interprets it as a method by which "the land tax is settled by the collector and the ryot".[3] Jarrett translates it as (i) "appraisement", and (ii) "estimate or valuation of crops"[4] and Beveridge as "a rate".[5] Moreland and Yusuf 'Ali state that "it was ordinarily *a zamindari* rather than ryotwari arrangement".[6] Moreland, however, changed his views and in 1926 interpreted the term as a "summary assessment on the village or some large area as a unit",[7] and finally as "group assessment".[8] Dr. R. P. Tripathi expresses his disagreement with group assessment but frankly admits his inability to explain it satisfactorily.[9] *Nasaq*, according to Dr. Sri Ram Sharma, was an independent method of assessing the revenue demand by averaging the demand of the last ten or twelve years.[10] Dr. P. Saran

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1. A. N. II. p. 333; III pp. 381-82; Ain. I, pp. 285-87, 389, 478, 485, 570.
2. *Sharh i-Ain-i-Akbari*, Or. 1667, ff. 177a-178a, 193a-b, as quoted by Dr. Irfan Habib. I. Habib p. 215n76.
3. J. A. S. B. 1873. p. 219.
4. Ain. II. Eng. Tr. pp. 47, 48, 134, 239, 246, 366.
5. A. N. Eng. Tr II. p. 333.
6. J. R. A. S. 1918. pp. 29-30.
7. J. R. A. S. 1926. p. 47.
8. A. S. M. I. pp. 234-37.
9. *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*. pp. 357-60.
10. *Indian Culture*. III. pp. 543-45.

has tried to identify it with *kankut*.[11] Dr. N. A. Siddique writes that *nasaq* was a method of assessment based on previous records.[12] Dr. I. H. Qureshi's interpretation is almost similar to that of Dr. Sri Ram Sharma. He writes: "When a holding had paid state demand over a number of years; in ten or twelve years, it became quite apparent what the average payment had been, and the state and cultivator came to an agreement whereby a fixed sum was paid and the area cultivated and the crops grown were not taken into consideration; this was contract and was known as *nasaq*".[13]

The interpretation given by Dr. Irfan Habib, in spite of one or two lacunae, seems to us to be more reasonable. *Nasaq*, writes Dr. Irfan Habib, "is often not treated as an independent method of assessment at all but only as a handmaid of other methods. In Hindustan, for example, it appears as a subordinate of *zabt* and in Kashmir, of crop-sharing". *Nasaq* under *zabt*, according to him, stands "as an alternative to annual measurement" and signifies "the use, for revenue assessment in successive years, of the same area figures previously determined by actual measurement." He comes to this interpretation of *nasaq* under *zabt* by explaining all the references to *nasaq* and *zabti* system made by Abu-l-Fazl. "*Nasaq* under *zabt* was, however, only one form of *nasaq*." "In Berar, Bengal and Kashmir *nasaq* must have been existed in very different forms." In Berar it applied "to a system untouched by Mughal innovations. It must be identical with the time honoured method of levying revenue in Mughal Dakhin (i. e,, Deccan) described by Sadiq Khan. This consisted of applying customary rates to the number of ploughs in a village, without reference to the land cultivated or the actual harvest." In Bengal "*nasaq* means the levying of

11. *Provincial Government of the Mughals*. pp. 301-309, 453-71.

12. *Land Revenue Administration under the Mughals (1700-1750)*. p. 43n11.

13. *The Administration of the Mughal Empire*. p. 170.

fixed amounts of cash upon the *zamindars* on a semi-permanent basis though it could sometimes be arbitrarily increased." In Kashmir where crop-sharing prevailed, it means "the quantity of produce appropriated as revenue remained fixed or constant from year to year."

Finally Dr. Habib writes: "By putting together all the information we have of the systems to which Abu-l-Fazl applies the term *nasaq*, we can see that the diversity of form really conceals one essential feature that is common to them all: The whole, or a part, of the assessment was not made afresh every year, the results of assessment once made being repeated year after year. It did not matter how the initial assessment had been made or what was repeated—area figures, amounts of cash, quantities of grain, or, perhaps, number of ploughs. Any avoidance whatsoever of the process of actual assessment, by acceptance of something previously worked out or determined, was *nasaq*."[14]

Dr. A. L. Srivastava holds almost the similar view. *Nasaq*, according to him, "was not a system of land revenue assessment properly so called. It was only part of the procedure applied, sometimes but not always, to the two systems of *zabt* and *batai* and always to the third, namely *kankut*. It meant the acceptance of (i) the rates under cultivation as it was in the previous year or years without measuring it afresh, or (2) of the produce or even revenue without actually ascertaining it again, or (3) of the rate at which either the grain was charged as state demand or the rate of the prices at which the demand in kind was commuted into cash. Under *kankut* there was no annual measurement of land, and the area of the fields was accepted and noted down from the past records in the *patwari's* papers." Regarding the application of *nasaq* under *zabt* and *batai* Dr. Srivastava's interpretation is

14. I. Habib pp. 215-19.

almost identical with that of Dr. Irfan Habib. However, he is silent regarding Berar and Bengal.[15]

Although Dr. Habib's interpretation is most comprehensive and convincing, we are in disagreement with him on two points. One of the references to *nasaq* under *zabt* was made by Abu-l-Fazl in his account of the 13th year/1568-69 of Akbar's reign. In that year Shihabu-d-din Ahmad Khan, then appointed *diwan-i-khalsa*, abolished *zabt-i-har sala* and established a *nasaq*.[16] Regarding this measure Dr. Habib writes : "It may be noted that the form of *nasaq* promulgated did not replace the *zabt* as such but only 'annual *zabt*'. The *zabt* consisted of two things : the fixed cash revenue rates and the measurement of land. We know definitely that the revenue rates continued to be fixed annually up to the 24th year and so what was replaced by *nasaq* in the 13th year could only have been annual measurement. We may remember that land-measurement was after all the real technical meaning of *zabt* ; and in *madad-i-ma'ash* documents the words, *zabt-i-har-sala*, are actually used to denote annual measurement of land".[17]

But there are certain difficulties in accepting this interpretation. We find no reference to measurement during Akbar's reign before the 18th regnal year/1573-74. It has already been stated (in a previous section) that it was Todar Mal who first resorted to measurement in settling the revenue of Gujarat in that year.[18] How can it, therefore, be said that by *zabt-i-har sala* Abu-l-Fazl has meant annual measurement when measurement has not at all been regularly resorted to ? It has also been stated that in the 11th regnal year/1566-67 Muzaffar Khan Turbati and Todar Mal introduced the system of obtaining *taqsimat-ul-mulk* or statistics of produce and revenue from the local *qanungos* annually and having completed the *mahsul* (produce or

15. Akbar The Great. II. pp. 18 98.
16. A. N. II. p. 333.
17. I. Habib. p. 216
18. Vide 'D', Section II, Chapter XI,

revenue) by estimate and computation brought into force a new *jama'*.[19] As the cash revenue rates continued to be promulgated up to the 24th regnal year/1579-80, it seems that the system of obtaining annual statistics of produce and revenue from the local *qanungos* was abolished by Shihabu-d-din Ahmad Khan. So instead of obtaining annual statistics of produce and revenue from the local *qanungos* Shihabu-d-din started assessing the *jama'* of the crown lands on the basis of the statistics already obtained. Thus *nasaq* under *zabt,* in this case, stands as an alternative not to annual measurement but to the aunual submission of statistics of produce and revenue by the local *qanungos* and signifies not "the use, for assessment in successive years, of the same area figures previously determined by actual measurement" but the use of same statistics of produce and revenue previously submitted by the local *qanungos.*

Secondly Dr. Habib states that in Bengal *nasaq* means the levying of fixed amounts of cash upon the *zamindars* on a semi-permanent basis "though it could sometimes be arbitrarily increased". It is also difficult to accept this interpretation. It has been shown that there existed both direct and indirect relation between the government and the cultivator. Further, in the indirect relationship apart from the *zamindars* there were other intermediaries viz., the revenue-farmers and the *taluqdars.*[20] Thus Dr. Habib's interpretation that in Bengal *nasaq* means the levying of fixed amounts of cash upon the *zamindars* on a semi-permanent basis is not appropriate.

What, then, did *nasaq* signify in case of Bengal ? Abu-l-Fazl states that in Bengal crop-division was not in practice, the peasants did not insist upon measurement and the revenue-demand was based upon *nasaq.*[21] Hence *nasaq* means method other than these two i. e., crop-

19. Vide 'B', Section II, Chapter XI.
20. Vide Section III, Chapter XI.
21. Ain. I. p. 389.

division and measurement. A passage of Mukundaram's *Kavikankan Chandi* throws light on the system or method of assessment prevailing in Bengal. In this passage addressing Bulan Mandal, Kalketu, who has just established a new kingdom, states : "Settle in my city and cultivate as much land as you want ; pay tax after three years, (at the rate of) one rupee per plough ; don't be afraid of any one and hold the *patta* signed by me".[22] Thus, according to Mukundaram, the revenue-demand was assessed on the basis of the rate per plough to be charged without any reference to the amount of land cultivated or of produce or of revenue received. This reflects the similarity with Dr. Habib's interpretation of the *nasaqi* system that prevailed in Berar under the Mughal rule. It is thus revealed that *nasaq* in Bengal meant a method of assessment in which an amount per plough irrespective of area and produce was levied upon the cultivators.

22. *Kavikankan Chandi*. p. 85.

APPENDIX V

Todar Mal's Family

Contemporary and later sources throw little light on Todar Mal's family life. They only furnish us with some information about his sons which is somewhat conflicting. According to Abu-l-Fazl, the Raja had three sons—Dharu, Gavardhan (Govardhan) and Kalyan Das.[1] The *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* names only the last one.[2] The *Baharistan-i-Ghaybi* mentions Dharu and Kalyan Das as the sons of Todar Mal.[3] Govardhandhari alias Giridhari is mentioned in the *Kamsavadha* written at the end of the 16th century, as being the son of Todar Mal.[4] It appears, as Sri Jangir Singh suggests, that Govardhandhari or Giridhari was shortened into Dhari which was lovingly turned into Dharu by his parents, and this last nomenclature, perhaps, became more popular than the other two.[5] Mr. Beveridge states that Todar Mal had two sons—Dhari and Kalyan Das.[6] It seems that he has also accepted Govardhan and Dhari as the one and the same person. The *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* mentions Rai Gopinath as being the son of Raja Todar Mal whereas the *Ma'asiru-l-Umara* states : "The Raja had a number of

1. A. N. III. pp. 209, 408, 533-35, 578. 608, 609, 801, 834. Mr. Beveridge has rendered Gavardhan as Gaurdahan. A. N. III. Eng. Tr p. 606.

2. *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*. I. Eng. Tr. pp. 192, 199, 202, 389-90, 402.

3. *Baharistan-i-Ghaybi*. II. (MS No. 61, J. N. Sarkar's Collection, National Library). ff. 684, 713. Sri M. Borah in his English Translation of the *Baharistan-i-Ghaybi* has mistakenly rendered Dharu as Duharu and Duhar. Baharistan Eng. Tr. pp, 319, 342.

4. *Kamsavadha*. pp. 1, 4, 5.

5. Sri Jangir Singh, *Raja Todar Mal's Sons, Transactions of Indian History Congress* (*5th Session*). 1941. p. 358.

6. A. N. III. Eng. Tr. Index. p. 60. Professor Sri Ram Sharma has mistakenly mentioned Dhari or Dharu as Bihari in his list of Akbar's Hindu *mansabdars*. I. H. Q. 1937. p. 476.

sons. The eldest of them was Dharu."[7] But it does not mention the name of any other. It can, therefore, be safely said that the Raja had at least three sons—Dharu, Kalyan Das and Rai Gopinath.

We shall now briefly discuss their activities as narrated by the sources.

Dharu has been first mentioned by Abu-l-Fazl in connection with Todar Mal's second Gujarat campaign in 1577. After his victory at Dholqa against the Mirzas in July of that year the Raja despatched his son Dharu along with some choice elephants captured during the battle to report the entire matter to the emperor. Dharu arrived at the court in September.

A few years after, Dharu went to Jaunpur to chastise 'Arab Bahadur who was then making disturbance there. In July, 1583, Todar Mal, in accordance with the emperor's order, sent him there. On the arrival of Dharu, 'Arab Bahadur fled away to the nearby hills.[8]

It appears from Abu-l-Fazl that Dharu continued to stay there up to the death of his father in November, 1589. The author states that after the death of Wazir Khan, the governor of Bengal, in August, 1589, Mir Murad, the imperial *sazawal* proceeded towards the court with Salih, Wazir's son, and some of his subordinates who refused to serve the nobles of the province. As Mir Murad was aware of Salih's rebellious attitude and evil design, he kept watch on the latter. But after their arrival at Jaunpur Salih deceived Dharu with presents and in consequence, the latter did not send any person to keep watch over him. Taking advantage of this situation Salih raised a contingent by lavishing gold and attacked Mir Murad near Fatehpur Hanswa, about 70 miles north-west of Allahabad, who took shelter inside the fort of Fatehpur Hanswa. Salih began to ransack the town. On receiving this disturbing news Dharu, who had

7. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*. I. pp. 188-89 ; M. U. II. p. 129.
8. A. N. III. p. 209.
9. A. N. III. p. 408.

now become ashamed of his stupid and shameful conduct, immediately sent a strong contingent which reached Fatehpur Hanswa at the moment when Salih was at the point of capturing it and suppressed the rebellion. Salih was arrested and brought to the court.[10] A few months later in May, 1590, Dharu went from Jaunpur to Lahore and paid homage to the emperor. He presented to the latter all the servants of his deceased father who were suitably rewarded by the emperor.[11] Dharu served under 'Abdu-r-Rahim, the Khan Khanan, during his campaign of Thatta in 1592 and displayed courage and skill. But unfortunately struck by a spear on the head he succumbed on 31st March, 1592.[12]

Dharu was a *mansabdar* of 700 and honoured with the title of Bahadur.[13] Like his father he was also a patron of learning. The famous Benares *pandit* Seshakrisna, belonging to the family of the Seshas, one of the four foremost *pandit* families of Benares in the 16th century, wrote the drama, *Kamsavadha*, under his patronage. He also witnessed the first performance of the drama.[14]

The *Ma'asiru-l-Umara* states that he used to shoe his horses with shoes covered with gold and silver.[15] This indicates that Dharu was a fashionable person. It appears from the *Baharistan-i-Ghaybi* that Dharu had a son, Jagdev, who was in service of the Mughals in Bengal.[16]

Kalyan Das has been first mentioned by Abu-l-Fazl in connection with Todar Mal's intercession between Raja Rudar (Rudra) of the Kumaon Hills and Akbar in 1588. Todar Mal deputed his son Kalyan Das to bring Raja Rudar

10. A. N. III. pp. 534-35.
11. Ibid. p. 578.
12. Ibid. pp. 608, 609.
13. Ibid. p. 608 ; Ain. I. Eng. Tr. pp. 378, 518 ; M. U. II. p. 129.
14. *Kamsavadha*. pp. 1, 4, 5. Seshakrisna, the famous *pandit* belonging to the family of the Seshas, flourished in the 16th and 17th centuries. I. A. XLI. pp. 245-253,
15. M. U. II. p. 129.
16. *Baharistan-i-Ghaybi*. II. ff. 684, 713.

to the court.[17] In January, 1602, Akbar, in order to stop the illegal levying of taxes by greedy and corrupt officials, appointed some important officers to look over the various regions and routes. Accordingly, Kalyan Das was entrusted to look over the routes to Gujarat.[18] At the end of Akbar's 49th year/1604-05 Kalyan Das was honoured with a *mansab* of 1000 *zat* and 500 *suwar* and entrusted with the administration of the fort of Kalinjar.[19]

Kalyan Das served under Jahangir also. It is known from the *Baharistan-i-Ghaybi* that Raja Kalyan Das and some important officials went to Akbarnagar (Rajmahal), the then capital of Bengal, leaving their respective regions or *thanas* in Orissa after the death of Jahangir Quli Khan, the governor of the province, in May, 1607. Although all the officers went back to their respective places after the appointment of Hashim Khan, son of Qasim Khan, as the governor of the province in October, 1607, to serve in their respective places, Raja Kalyan Das made delay in returning.[20]

Jahangir states that he received the offerings sent by Raja Kalyan from Bengal on 23rd March, 1611.[21] This indicates that the latter was still in Bengal. Another interesting thing to be noted is that both Mirza Nathan, the author of the *Baharistan-i-Ghaybi* and Jahangir mention Kalyan Das as Raja which title was not used either by Abu-l-Fazl or Inayet Ullah who completed the *Akbarnama* after the murder of Abu-l-Fazl in August, 1602. It seems that Kalyan Das was honoured with the title during Jahangir's reign.

In July, 1611, the emperor Jahangir honoured Kalyan Das by increasing his rank by 500 personnel and 300 horses which made it up altogether to 1500 personnel and 800 horses. Raja Kalyan Das suppressed the Afghan plunderers

17. A. N. III. p. 533.
18. Ibid. p 801.
19 Ibid. p. 834.
20. *Baharistan-i-Ghaybi*. I. f. 11 ; Eng. Tr. p. 10.
21. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*. I Eng. Tr. p. 192.

and trouble-makers who looted all the elephants, cattle and other goods purchased by the servants of Iradat Khan, the *mir bakhshi* of Bihar, from Orissa. The Raja sent all the above mentioned things to Islam Khan, the governor of Bengal, and himself marched to Cuttack to meet Hashim Khan, the governor of Orissa and a standard and kettle-drum in the middle of September, 1611. Hashim Khan was ordered to hand over the charge of affairs of Orissa and come to the court. Hashim Khan complied with the order.[22]

A few months after his appointment as the governor of Orissa, Raja Kalyan marched towards Khurdah to punish its ruler, Raja Purusottam Dev, who defied the imperial sovereignty. When most of his territories was plundered by Raja Kalyan's army, Raja Purusottam Dev sent peace proposals expressing his desire to acknowledge imperial suzerainty. Actually he bought peace by offering his daughter to the emperor besides a *peshkash* of 100,000 rupees, his best elephant, Seshnag, for the use of the emperor. Raja Kalyan despatched all these things to the court.[23]

In 1612, Islam Khan tried to discharge Raja Kalyan from the governorship of Orissa and secure the same for his lieutenant Shuja'at Khan in order to encourage the latter in his expedition (March-April, 1602) against Osman Khan of Sylhet. But as the emperor did not approve Islam Khan's measure, the Raja continued to work as the governor of Orissa.[24]

On 8th September, 1617, Raja Kalyan came to court from Orissa to pay homage to the emperor. But the latter refused to give audience to him, as he was very much dissatisfied on account of some complaints already lodged against the Raja. Raja Kalyan and his son were put under the custody of Asaf Khan who was instructed to make enquiry about the complaints. When after the investigation

22. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*. I. Eng. Tr. pp. 199, 202 ; *Baharistan-i-Ghaybi*. I. ff. 12, 13, 248 ; Eng. Tr. pp. 10, 11, 143.

23. *Baharistan-i-Ghaybi*. I ff. 250, 251 ; Eng. Tr. pp. 144-45.

24. Ibid, ff. 271-72, 449.

the Raja was found innocent, he was allowed to meet the emperor on 24th September, 1617. The Raja paid his homage to the emperor by offering 100 *muhrs* and 1000 rupees. He also laid before the emperor a string of pearls comprising 80 pearls and 2 rubies, a bracelet with 1 ruby and 2 pearls and a gold horse studded with jewels. The emperor then honoured the Raja with a dress and a horse and appointed him to do duty along with Mahabat Khan in Bangash.[25] Nothing more is known about Raja Kalyan.

It appears from the above account of the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* that Raja Kalyan also had a son, but unfortunately we do not know his name.

The *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* states that during the governorship of Saiyid Murtaza Khan Bokhari (1605-07), Rai Gopinath, son of Raja Todar Mal, was sent to Gujarat to chastise and punish Murtaza's brothers and other rebellious persons and restore order in land assessment and administration. Rai Gopinath went to Surat by way of Malwa, took *peshkash* from the *zamindars* and established real order in revenue administration. He also arrested Kalyan Baria, a *zamindar*, who had opposed him near Baroda. In order to avenge this humiliation the Kolis of the nearby place attacked the imperial contingent and killed a large number of soldiers. Finding himself in an awkward position Rai Gopinath retreated to Ahmadabad. After making preparations he marched to Mandvi[26] and captured its *zamindar*. He then went to Pattan and defeated and arrested the local chief of the Kolis. Rai Gopinath brought all these three captured *zamindars* to the court.[27]

One thing is to be noticed from the account of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* that like his father Rai Gopinath was also a military general and a revenue expert.

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25. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*. I. Eng. Tr. pp. 389-90, 402.

26. Mandvi is the headquarters of the taluka of the same name in Surat district, Gujarat, situated in 21° 18′ N and 73° 22′ E. I. G. XVII p. 174.

27. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*. I. pp. 188-89.

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Akbarnama. By Ilahdad Faiz Sarhindi. The exact date of composition is not known. But the author wrote the work on the order of his patron Shaikh Farid Bokhari, the *Bakhshi-ul-mulk* under Akbar and the account comes down to the 46th regnal year of Akbar i. e., 1601-1602. I have consulted K. P. Jaysayal Research Institute MS. It furnishes an account of some of the activities of Todar Mal and helps us in determining the dates of some of the events and the route of the Raja's campaign against Daud Khan in 1574-75. Extracts in Elliot and Dowson, vol. VI.

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B. *Sanskrit*

Todarananda. This encyclopaedic work comprising almost all the branches of Hindu learning was written between 1572 and 1589 under the patronage of Raja Todar Mal and is divided into 23 sections. The name of each section is given in Section II, Chapter XII. Of these, 2 sections cannot be traced. The remaining 21 sections except *Sraddha Saukhya* are available in the Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner. The *Sraddha Saukhya* and three other *Saukhyas* are available in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research

Institute, Poona. The text of the two *Saukhyas—Sarga* and *Avatara*—edited by Dr. P. L. Vaidya was published by the Anup Sanskrit Library in 1948. I have used all the MSS preserved in the above mentioned institutions as well as the printed text of the two *Saukhyas*. The *Todarananda* is a very important source as it supplies the Raja's genealogy and the caste, sub-caste and the religion to which he belonged. It also throws some light on the personality and character of the Raja and itself a shining example of his patronage of learning.

Gadhivamsavarnanam. By Sankara Bhatta completed at the end of the 16th century. The transcribed copy of the MS no. 50051, Sanskrit University, Benares, brought by me, has been used. It supplies information about the Raja's link with the *pandits* of Benares, Gaur and Mithila.

Nidanasthana. This Ms no. 1037 of 1886-92, BORI, contains Todar Mal's commentary on the *Nidanasthana* section of *Astangahriday Samhita* written by Vag Bhatta.

Kamsavadha. By Seshakrisna, completed at the end of the 16th century. I have consulted the text edited by Pandit Durgaprasad and Kasinath Pandurang Parab, Bombay, 1896. It gives useful information about the Raja's caste and his son, Govardhan.

C. *Urdu*

Bihar Bangal Aur Orissa Men Raja Todar Mal Ki Kar Guzarian. By Safdar 'Ali, the *mir munshi* of Raja Todar Mal, completed in 1580. The author wrote this account of Todar Mal's campaign in Bengal in 1574-76, in Arabic. It had been translated into Urdu by Ikram 'Ali of Selimpur Majhauli in Gorakhpur district at the instance of Maharaja Ram Singh of Jaipur in '874. This Urdu MS is preserved in the O. P. L. (no. 123) Patna. As the Arabic original cannot be traced out, I have consulted the Urdu MS. It is a very important source for the Raja's campaigns in Bengal.

D. Hindi

Todar Mal's verses. There was a MS no. 62 in the Kasi Nagri Pracharini Sabha which contained a number of verses composed by the Raja. Unfortunately this important MS is now missing. I have consulted some of the verses quoted in Thakur Siv Singh Sengar's *Siv Singha Saroj*, Misrabandhu's *Misrabandhu Vinod* and Dr. S. Agraval's *Akbari Darbar Ki Hindi Kavi* and in some other modern Hindi works.

E. Bengali

Kavikankanchandi. By Mukundaram Chakrabarty, completed by 1605. I have used the text published by the Indian Press in 1921 as well as the text edited by Dr. Bijan Behari Bhattacharya and published by Calcutta University in 1966. Although this work does not refer directly to any of Todar Mal's activities, it helps greatly in ascertaining the nature of Todar Mal's Settlement in Bengal.

Chaitanya Charitamrita. By Krisnadas Kaviraj, completed in the 2nd half of the 16th century. It also helps in ascertaining Todar Mal's Bengal Settlement. I have used the text edited by Radha Govinda Nath, 3rd ed. Calcutta.

II. Work Relating to Administration

Ain-i-Akbari. By Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl, completed in 1597-98. It contains Akbar's regulations in all departments and on all subjects and also valuable and detailed statistical accounts of the empire with historical and other notes. It gives valuable information about Todar Mal's measure, regarding Akbar's currency system. It also helps in ascertaining the nature of some of the most important revenue reforms of the Raja. I have generally used the Persian text, 2 vols, edited by H. Blochmann and published in the BI series of the A. S. B. in 1867-77. I have also consulted the (A. S. B.) MS no. P 121. Volume I is useful and is translated in English in 2 vols., and published in the BI series of the A. S. B. Volume I was translated by H. Blochmann in 1873 and vol. II by Jarrett in 1891. I have generally used the 2nd edition of those volumes, respectively edited by Mr. D. C. Phillott (1939) and Acharya Jadunath Sarkar (1949).

Haqiqat-i-Raqba Todarmali Pargana Bhagalpur Sarkar Monghyr Mazaf Subah Bihar 1001 Fasli (1593-94). This contemporary document relating to detailed area statistics of Pargana Bhagalpur is preserved in the State Archives, Bihar (Stock no. 1690). It gives an idea bout the Raja's method of measurement and keeping the area statistics. It also throws light on the fiscal division prevailing in this part of the empire.

In order to make a proper assessment of Todar Mal's administrative activities it is necessary to make reference to the earlier system as given in the following work :—

Arthasastra. By Kautilya. I have used the English translation made by R. Shyamasastri (4th ed. 1952 and 6th ed. 1960) as well as that of R. P. Kangle (Bombay, 1963).

III. Archaeological

A. *Buildings and Forts*

The following volumes of the report of the Archaeological Survey of India are useful for the description of certain forts and buildings :—

Vol. XVIII, for the identification and description of the Anuptalao.

Vol. XXIII, for the description of the fort of Chitor.

B. *Numismatic Sources*

The following catalogues of coins of Sher Shah and the Mughal emperors are useful in discussing Todar Mal's measures for the development of Akbar's currency system :—

Brown, C. J. *Catalogue of Coins in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow.* (Mughal Emperors). 2 vols. Oxford: 1920.

Lane Poole, Stanley. *British Museum Catalogue of Mughal Coins.* London, 1892.

Whitehead, R. B. *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore.* II. Lahore, 1914.

Wright, H. N. *The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi.* Delhi, 1936.

Wright, H. N. *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum.* III. Calcutta, 1908.

C. *Epigraphic Source*

Draupadi-kunda Inscription. This inscription, dated 1646 *Samvat*/1589-90, was found at Draupadi-kunda in Benares and published in the Marathi Journal *Itihasasangraha,* vol. I and also in the *Todaranandam.* vol. I. It gives information about Todar Mal's benevolent activities.

IV. Account of the Foreign Travellers

None of the foreign travellers except De Laet refers directly to any of Todar Mal's activities. But the accounts of the following travellers help our understanding of the activities of the Raja.

Batuta, Ibn. *Rehala.* 1355. Eng. Tr. by Dr. Mahadi Husain Khan. Baroda, 1953.

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De Laet, Joannes. *De Imperia Magni Mogolis, sive India Commentarius auctoribus congestis* (Latin), Eng. Tr. J. S. Hoyland and S. N. Banerji, entitled *The Empire of the Great Mogol.* Bombay, 1928.

Manucci, Nicolao. *Storia do Mogor.* 1656-92. Eng. Tr. by W. Irvine, 4 vols. London, 1907-1908.

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Pelsaert, Francisco. *Remonstrantie.* 1626. Eng. Tr. by W. H. Moreland. Cambridge, 1925.

Wang Ta Yuan, *Tao Chin Lio.* 1349. Eng. Tr. by H. W. Rockhill and published along with the account of some other Chinese travellers under the title *Notes on the Relations and Trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago and the Coast of Indian Ocean During the Fourteenth Century* in *T'oung Pao,* 1915. Extracts of it were translated by Dr. P. C. Bagchi, and published in the *Visva Bharati Annals,* 1945.

V. Near Contemporary and Later Works

A. Near Contemporary

(a) Persian

Baharistan-i-Ghaybi. By Mirza Nathan, completed in 1632-33. I have used the MS nos. 60, 61, 62 containing Pt. I, II, and III & IV of the treatise belonging to Acharya Jadunath Sarkar Collection preserved in the National Library, Calcutta. The English translation made by M. Borah in 2 vols, and published by Gauhati University in 1936, has also been consulted. It gives important information about Todar Mal's sons and also is useful for the discussion of the revenue settlement of Bengal.

Chahar Chaman--i-Brahman. By Chandra Bhan, completed in 1656. The MS no. 67 belonging to 'Acharya Jadunath Sarkar Collection, National Library, Calcutta, has been used. Extracts in Elliot and Dowson, vol. VII. It gives three important anecdotes about the Raja and thus reveals that the Raja had already become a legendary figure.

Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri. By Mutamad Khan, completed in 1620. The MS no. 66 belonging to Buhar Collection, National Library, Calcutta, has been consulted. The text was published in 2 vols. by Newal Kishore Press in 1870. The portion containing Jahangir's reign was published by the A. S. B. in 1865 and edited by 'Abdul Hai and Ahmad 'Ali. As this treatise is based on Abu-I-Fazl and other contemporaries' account, it throws no new light on the Raja. Extracts in Elliot and Dowson, vol. VI.

Ma'asir-i-Rahimi. By 'Abdul Baqi Nihawandi, completed in 1616. The Persian text edited by H. Hosain was published in 3 volumes, 1910-31, in the BI series of the A. S. B. Extracts in Elliot and Dowson, vol. VI. It furnishes no new information about Todar Mal.

Khulasatu-t-Twarikh. By Sujan Rai Bhandari, completed in 1695. The Persian text was edited by Zafar Hasan,

Delhi, 1918. Extracts in Elliot and Dowson, vol. VII. It is a very useful source as it supplies some important additional information e. g., the introduction of Persian as the sole language for the transactions of the revenue department.

Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri. By Jahangir, completed in 1621. The text was edited by Saiyid Ahmad, Ghazipur and Aligarh, in 1863 and 1864. It was translated into English by Rodgers and Beveridge in 2 volumes in 1909-14 ; the 2nd edition was published in 1968. Extracts in Elliot and Dowson, vol. VI. It gives valuable information about Todar Mal's son, Kalyan Das.

(b) Hindi

Kahawaths—Rajputana. This MS, preserved in O. P. L., Patna (without any call or accession no.), has three parts bound together—(i) *Genealogy and Tradition* of the Ujjainiya Rajputs, (ii) *Ram Das Kachhwaha ki Varta*, written by the Kanha Bard of the village Achalpur in Jaipur State, and (iii) *Patal Potha ki Haqiqat.* All the three works were recorded in 1719 Vikram/1662-63. *Ram Das Kachhwaha ki Varta* is very useful for Todar Mal's Bengal campaign.

B. *Later Works*

(a) Persian

Ma'asiru-l-Umara. By Shah Nawaz Khan and his son 'Abdul Hai, written in 1741-47 and 1768-80. This biographical dictionary of the Mughal nobles was edited by 'Abdu-r-Rahim and, Mirza Ashraf 'Ali in 1888-91 and published in 3 vols. in the BI series of the A.S.B. It was translated into English by H. Beveridge and Baini Prasad and published in 3 vols. in the BI series of the A.S.B. in 1911-41, 1952 & 1964. Volume II of the persian text gives a very useful sketch of Todar Mal's life. It not only

supplies some additional information but has also been of great help in the preparation of this work.

Mirat-i-Ahmadi. By 'Ali Muhammad Khan, completed in 1761-63. The text was edited by Syed Nawab 'Ali in 2 vols. in 1927 and 1928 and the text of the Khatima or Supplement in 1930 and published by Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Baroda. An abridged English translation of the text was made by James Bird and published in 1834. The English translation of the Supplement made by Syed Nawab 'Ali and Charles Norman Seddon was published in 1928. A complete translation of the text has been made by M. P. Lokhanwala and published in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series in 1965. Volume I gives some very important additional information about the Raja's activities in Gujarat.

Muntakhab-ul-Lubub. By Khafi Khan, completed in 1731. The Persian text was edited by K. D. Ahmad and Haig in 3 parts and published in the BI series, A.S.B., 1868-74 and 1905 It gives some additional information about Todar Mal although some of them are contradicted by the contemporary authors. Extracts in Elliot and Dowson, vol. VII.

Riyaz-us-Salatin. By Gulam Husain Salim, completed in 1786-88. The text was published in the BI series, A.S.B., 1890. So far Todar Mal is concerned it is not so important.

Tazkirat-ul-Umara. By Kewalram. The MS preserved in the K. P. Jaisayal Research Institute has been consulted. Like the Ma'asir it is also a biographical dictionary of the Mughal nobles. The life sketch of the Raja given in it is useful.

Tafrih-ul-Imarat. By Seal Chand, completed in 1826. The MS preserved in the A.S.B. (no. P 288) has been consulted. It throws light on the Raja's early life.

(b) Bengali

Pratapaditya Charitra. By Ram Ram Basu, completed in 1802-1803. The text is edited by Sri Nikhil Nath Ray. It

gives some information about the Raja's activities in Bengal. We find no new information and one should be very careful in handling it as it is full of errors.

(c) English

Midnapur Records, 1763-67, vol. I, edited by W. K. Firminger, Calcutta, 1914. It gives information about Todar Mal's revenue settlement in Bengal.

Political and Financial Analysis of Bengal. By James Grant, written in 1786. It was published in the *Fifth Report* edited by Firminger, Reprinted, Calcutta, 1917. It throws light on Todar Mal's revenue settlement in Bengal.

Grant Shore's Minute, 1788. It was also published in the Fifth Report edited by Firminger, Reprinted, Calcutta, 1917. It also supplies information about the Raja's Bengal settlement.

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